



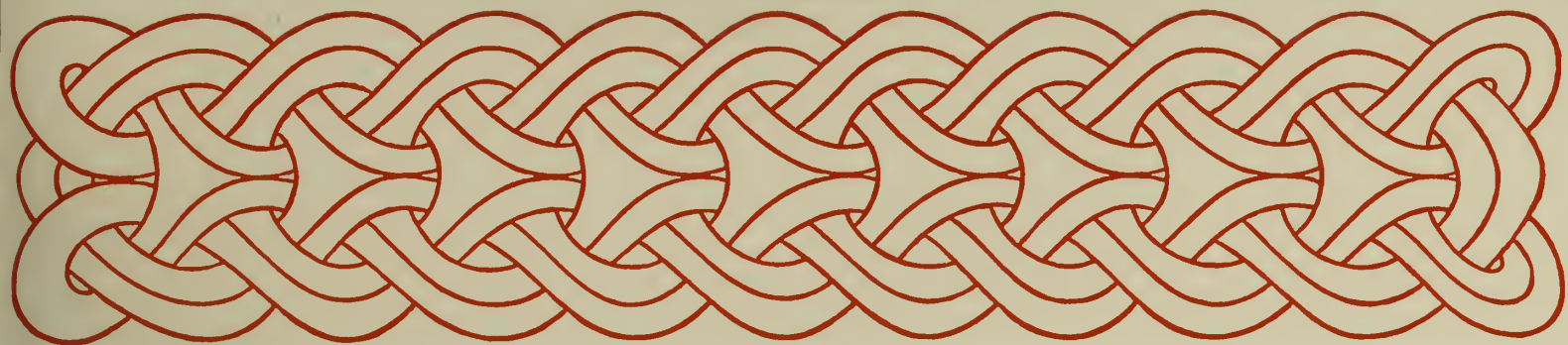
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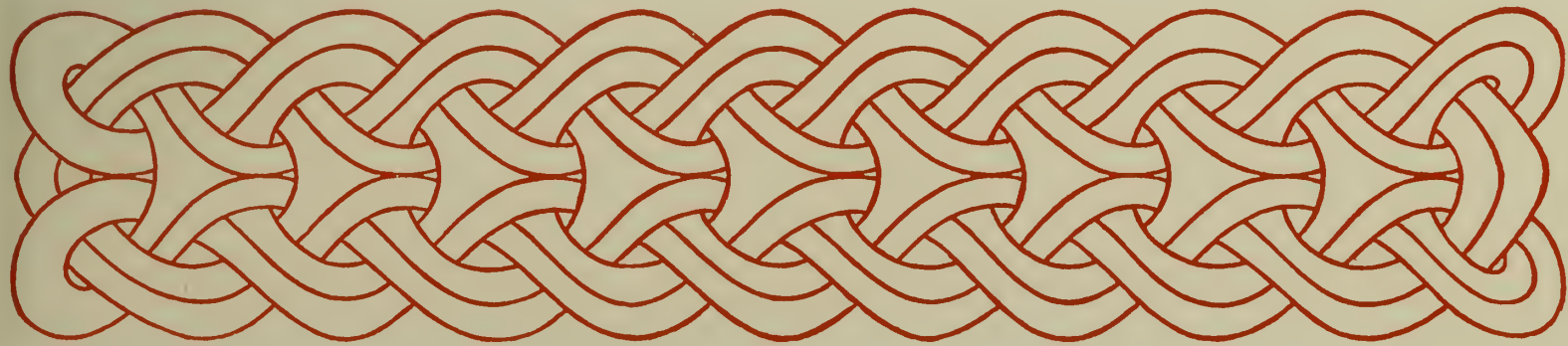
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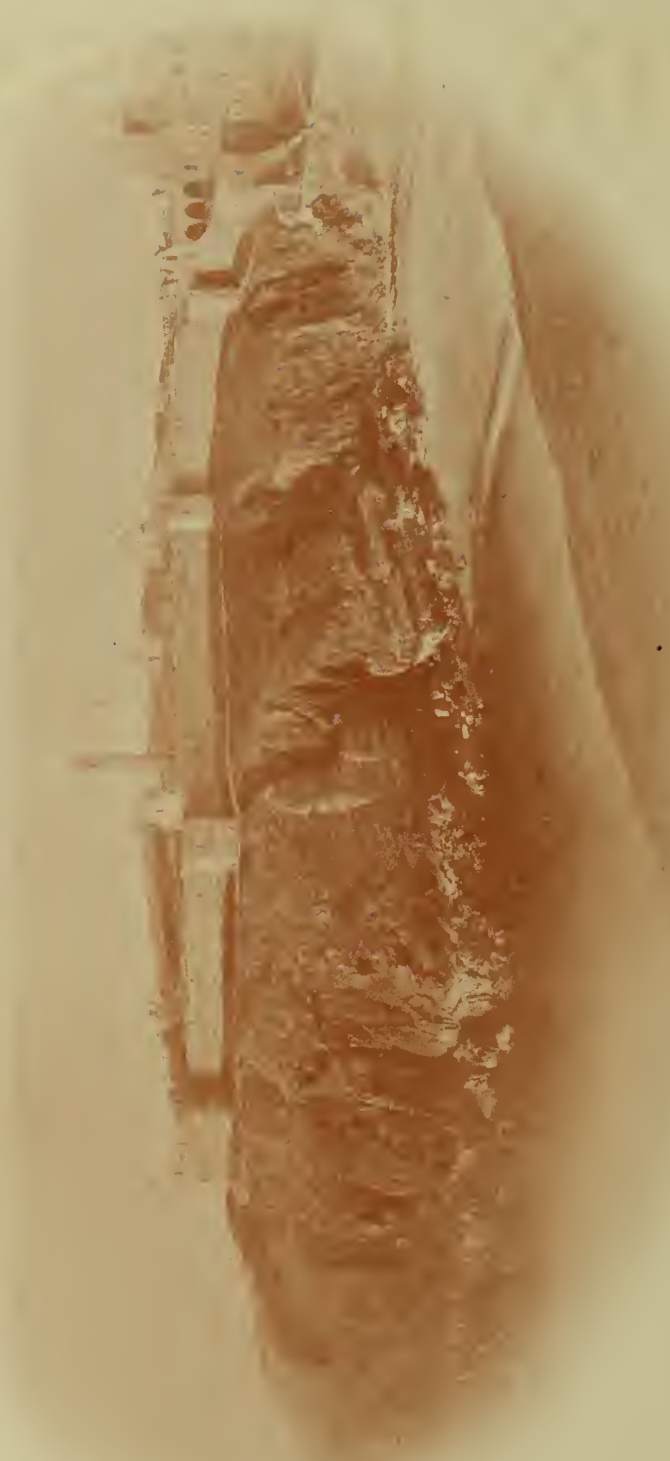
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PEEL CASTLE (FROM THE SOUTH-WEST).

Manx Crosses

OR

THE INSCRIBED AND SCULPTURED MONUMENTS
OF THE ISLE OF MAN FROM ABOUT THE END
OF THE FIFTH TO THE BEGINNING OF THE
—————THIRTEENTH CENTURY—————

BY

P. M. C. Kermode, F.S.A. Scot.

Hon. Memb. Vidensk-Selsk, Christiania

Fully illustrated from drawings of the Crosses specially prepared by the Author, founded upon rubbings, and carefully compared with photographs and with the stones themselves ; besides numerous figures in outline and a map showing distribution of the monuments



London

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1907

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ASSES : Isle of Man

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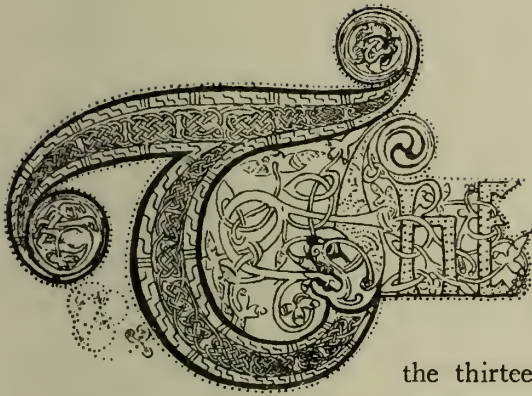


TO THE

Manx People

This Account of a class of Monuments in which the Isle of Man is peculiarly rich—many of them our only contemporary records of the early Christian period, many of great artistic merit, and all the handiwork of our own Celtic and Scandinavian forefathers—is respectfully dedicated by the Author





ENGRAVED AND SCULPTURED STONES which are described and figured in this volume are of more than local interest. They constitute a continuous series of monuments dating from the introduction of Christianity into these parts to the beginning of

the thirteenth century, and form a connecting link between the early sepulchral stones of Wales, the inscribed slabs of Ireland, the cross-slabs of Scotland, and the Celtic, Anglian and Scandinavian stones of the North of England, and as such cannot be neglected by students of this interesting subject. They are contemporary records and illustrations of the period when the British Isles were occupied by Celtic inhabitants; they manifest traces of the Anglian folk who, like the Danes, must have come over from Northumbria; and afford evidence of the four centuries of occupation by the Scandinavians, who arrived in Man by way of the Western Isles of Scotland. They mark also the spread and development of Christian Art, and have a practical value in suggesting how their peculiar system of decorative ornamentation may be developed and applied to modern purposes.

Of the one hundred and seventeen monuments of this class so far brought to light in the Isle of Man, many of them within the last six years, about seventy are now for the first time figured and fully described. Our Island has long been famous for its Scandinavian pieces and its inscriptions in the later Runes; I am able to show that nearly two-thirds of our total are pre-Scandinavian, and that Hiberno-Saxon characters and Anglian as well as the later Scandinavian runes are represented in our inscriptions. Perhaps the most interesting discovery, however, is that to which I was led by Mr. Romilly Allen and Professor (now Bishop) Brown, who first recognized in a carving found by me at Kirk Andreas, No. 95, a figure of Sigurd roasting the heart of the dragon Fafni. From this I was induced to look for further illustrations of Saga literature, and was rewarded by the discovery of three other Sigurd pieces, and at least six other stones which, beyond doubt, depict characters and illustrate stories from the Norse Mythology.

For illustrations I had intended to rely on photographs, which in the case of small and well-preserved pieces would have been satisfactory enough, but in far the greater number of cases no single photograph could show the details of involved patterns with clearness and precision, nor would they enable the ordinary reader to recognize designs greatly weathered or worn. The stones being warped, and their surfaces roughened and cracked by the weather, the focus and the light required to bring out one portion with clearness would not exhibit other details of equal importance, and I found that nothing could be better for the purpose than careful drawings. My plates, therefore, with one or two exceptions, are reduced copies of full-sized drawings which I have made with the greatest care, doing many of them twice, and not a few three and even four times, before I was satisfied. These, being founded on rubbings, outlined with the stone before me, give at least the true proportions and the relative positions of the different designs, and in shading them I had the aid of the casts and photographs to enable me to represent as nearly as possible the amount of relief and the nature of the carving. Of necessity, considering the comparatively small scale on which they were to be reproduced, I have had to emphasize lines which are barely visible on the stone, and then only in certain lights; but I have represented nothing which I could not actually see. One advantage of a drawing is that one is able to indicate in outline the probable appearance of portions now flaked or broken off, some of the smaller and more weathered fragments, such as Nos. 23, 79 and 107, conveying otherwise little or no meaning to those who have not made a special study of the subject.

As a relief to the monotony of such a work as the present, as well as for the purpose of calling attention to the manner in which this lost Art—which from seven hundred to one thousand years ago flourished in our Island, whither it had spread from the surrounding lands—might be applied in these latter days, I have made use in the headings of sections of letters and capitals from the *Book of Kells*. Thus, in my word THE at the beginning of this Preface, I have taken the T from the word TVNC (in the sentence Tunc dicit illis IHS omnes vos scan[dalum], St. Matthew xxvi. 31), omitting the V, which in the original occupies the middle space of the T, my HE taking the place of the NC, and the decorative design being slightly modified to suit the altered letters. And on the cover and throughout the volume I have used decorative designs copied or adapted from the carvings on our own monuments.

I must take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to those who have kindly helped me in my work. I am in the first place indebted to Mr. Royston for making me the fine collection of casts, which have been of the greatest assistance in working out intricate designs and worn patterns, as they could be turned about in different lights, and frequently examined and compared. Some details—such as the figure of the Virgin and Child on No. 72, the detached bands of the involved and irregular plait on No. 57, and others—were only discovered by me in the very act of making my finished drawings with the casts before me. Mr. Whiteside, Miss Herdman, my sister, Miss Kermode, and her friend, Miss Boyd-Dawkins, made photographs and enlargements which enabled me to finish some of my drawings. Our present Governor, Lord Raglan, who has shown such an active interest in bringing to light and preserving the antiquities of the Island, permitted me to have the Peel crosses taken out of the Cathedral walls for examination and illustration. To the Rev. R. D.

Kermode, Vicar of Maughold, the Rev. John Quine, Vicar of Lonan, and the Rev. A. E. Clarke, Vicar of Marown, I am grateful for informing me of crosses newly discovered in their parishes, and enabling me to have them cast and figured; and to Mr. Light for presenting me with the Ramsey cross; and the Rev. S. N. Harrison, Mr. Haslam, Miss Dora Brown, Mr. Quilleash and Mr. Haddon, for bringing me similar stones found by them. Mr. C. Roeder kindly drew my attention to the Hibbert-Ware MSS. in Manchester, and sent me extracts and tracings from them. Mr. G. Patterson years ago took the greatest pains and trouble in photographing stones for me, and made a cast of the Adam and Eve one, Bride No. 116, which, as well as some of the others, has since lost some of its carving. The late Mr. Keig and his son, Mr. T. Keig, Mr. Kee, and Mr. Midwood, have been most obliging in taking special photographs, some of them in very out-of-the-way places. The late Sir Henry Dryden, besides helping me to work out the plait in the Braddan wheel-cross and the small Conchan piece, made an excellent drawing for me of the unique figure of the Crucifixion on the Calf of Man stone (page 23, fig. 16). One or two of my outline illustrations of monuments outside of the Isle of Man are copied from well-known works duly acknowledged in the text; Mr. W. G. Collingwood kindly offered to lend me some blocks used in *Crosses, etc., of Carlisle*, but I made copies of them instead; and I have to thank Dr. Kuno Meyer and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for their obliging courtesy in the use of illustrative blocks. It is almost needless to say that I am greatly indebted to Mr. Romilly Allen for his able analysis of Celtic patterns; I make many references to his *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, a work which no student can afford to be without. In particular I have to thank Dr. Brate, of Stockholm, for timely suggestions and advice, for his valuable contribution on the origin and use of Runes, and for his great assistance in looking over the proofs dealing with the Runic inscriptions; Principal Rhys for similar help in respect of the Ogam inscriptions; and my friend Professor Herdman for his constant sympathy and kindness in the tedious and uninteresting task of reading through the whole of my proofs and making many important suggestions which I have gladly adopted. Mr. G. Clinch, F.S.A., has added to the usefulness and value of the volume by undertaking the labour of making a complete Index. Finally, I must express my thanks to my publishers, Messrs. Bemrose & Sons Ltd., for all the trouble and care they have taken to meet my wishes and to make the text and illustrations and binding as perfect as possible.

It has been supposed, and frequently said, that some of our sculptured monuments have been sent off the Island. I have made inquiries, and I do not believe that any have been taken or sent off the Island except one or two which Mr. Wallace had in his museum on Douglas Head, and afterwards took to Distington. Before doing so, I believe he advertised that anyone claiming any local things in his collection might have them back on making application for them. No one applied for the stones, but since his death they have been all returned.

It is a great pleasure to be able to record the fact that these venerable monuments are in no further danger of neglect, for their value is now duly appreciated by the people whose privilege it is to possess them; and to state that since the present work went to press

our Tynwald Court has voted the sum of £250 out of our revenue, which, supplemented by subscriptions, has enabled the Manx Museum and Ancient Monuments Trustees to have the crosses collected in their respective parishes, placed under cover, and so arranged that they can readily be examined; and this excellent work is now being carried out as speedily as possible. Remembering the proud words of GAUT, the greatest of our ancient sculptors, who inscribed upon a masterpiece at Kirk Michael, "Gaut carved this cross and all in Man," I have suggested the following motto for the handsome cross-house at Kirk Maughold which contains as nearly as possible a third of our whole collection:—

"THESE CROSSES AND ALL IN MAN HAVE BEEN COLLECTED AND
RE-ERECTED BY THE MANX PEOPLE."

P. M. C. KERMODE.

*Claghbane, Ramsey,
Isle of Man.
25th December, 1906.*



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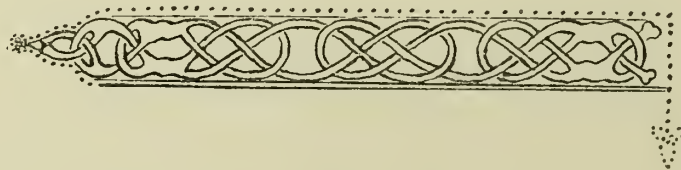
The place of the Manx Monuments; Development of the Cross from the Chi-Rho Monogram; Distribution, dimensions, and nature of the Monuments; almost total absence of Symbolism; Nature of the Inscriptions; Class I., Pre-Scandinavian Slabs.—Incised; absence of Art on Ogam Stones; Linear Crosses; Outline Crosses; Alpha and Omega; Forms of Cross; Incised, decorated; Triquetra; Hexafoil; Sunk work; Crosses in Relief, undecorated; Latin Cross; Celtic Cross; Wheel Cross; in Relief, decorated; Cruciform Stones; Altar Slab; Crucifix; Geometrical Designs; Evolution of the Manx form of Twist and Ring Design; Zoomorphic work; Figure subjects; Local forms of Plaitwork; Pastoral Staff and the Staff Lands; Daniel in the Lion's Den; Summary: Table of Patterns and Designs; Distribution of decorative ornament on the Pre-Scandinavian pieces. Class II., Scandinavian.—A continuation of the earlier series; Celtic type of Cross, the established form; the first Scandinavian Sculptor; Varieties in the form of Cross; Distribution; Runes; Decorative Designs not derived from the earlier Monuments; local peculiarities introduced by Gaut; Decorative treatment of the head of the Cross; Geometrical Designs; Link-twist Designs, and patterns derived from them; Gaut's Ring-chain Pattern, its evolution; Tendril Pattern; Description of Decoration on the different Crosses; Geometrical and Zoomorphic Designs; Figure subjects; Norse Mythology; Sigurd Fafni's Bane; Adam and Eve; Summary Table of Designs on Scandinavian pieces; local peculiarities and originality of the Manx decorative work; date of the more highly ornamented pieces; Origin of the Art; its adaptability to modern purposes 12-70

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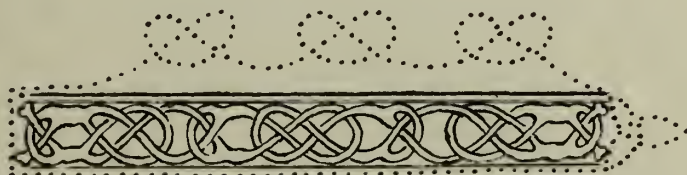
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CORRECTION

I must apologize for a slip which escaped my notice in revising proofs of the Maps. The boundary line at the S.E. corner of German Parish, instead of following the high road from St. John's Station to Greeba, should pass from St. John's, S.W., to strike the boundary line with Marown at a point about a mile and a half S. of the high road.

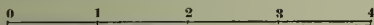
P. M. C. K.

MAP OF ISLE OF MAN

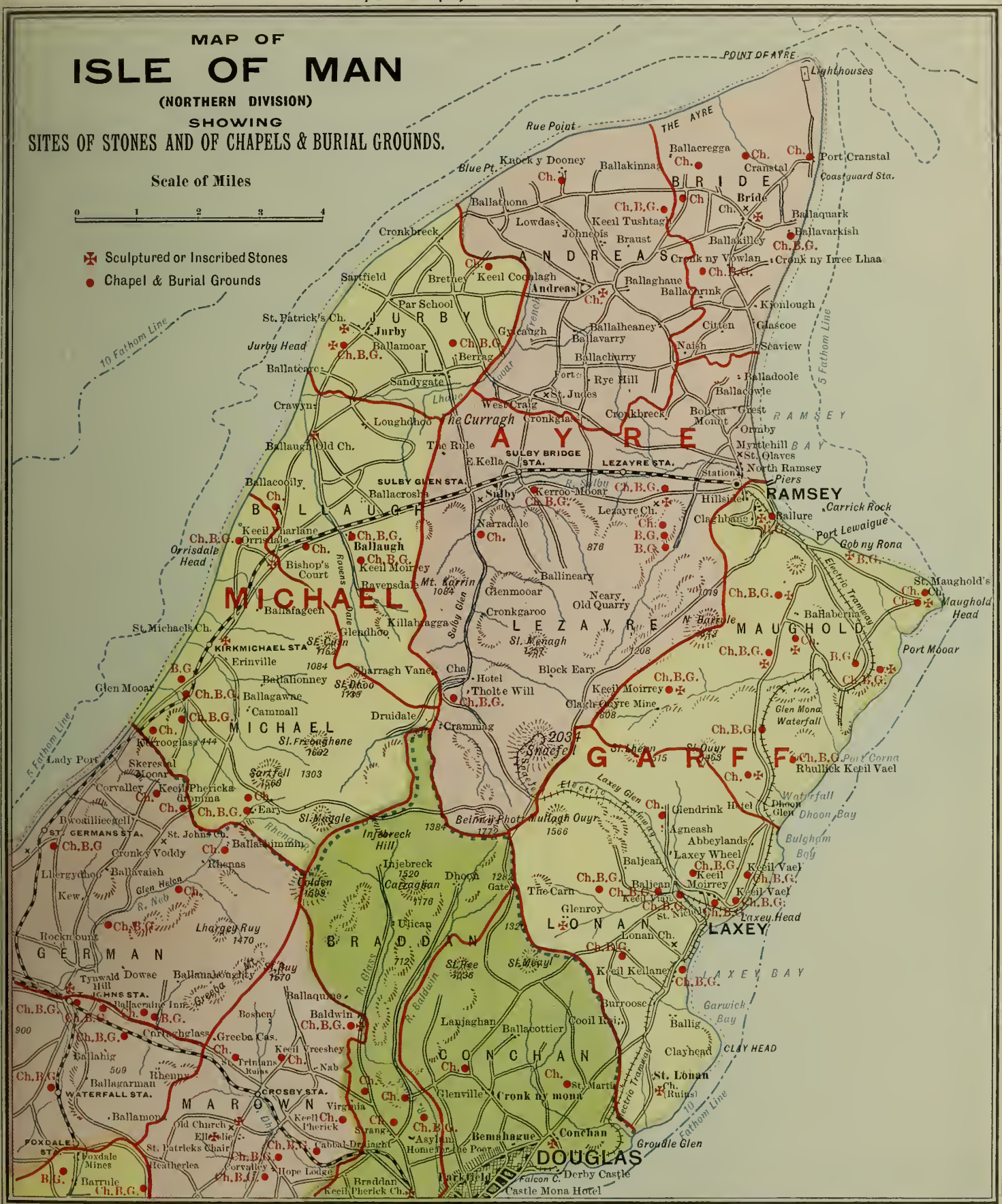
(NORTHERN DIVISION)

SHOWING SITES OF STONES AND OF CHAPELS & BURIAL GROUNDS.

Scale of Miles



- ✠ Sculptured or Inscribed Stones
- Chapel & Burial Grounds



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II.—SCANDINAVIAN

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These are now placed as follows:—

In Parish Churches, Keeils, and Churchyards	91
In the Insular Museum (but being returned to their respective parishes as soon as arrangements can be made for their due preservation)	15
In private houses and gardens	5
In open fields and by the sides of roads	5
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INTRODUCTION

TO

MANX CROSSES.



MONUMENTS here treated of form a continuous series from the introduction of Christianity into the Isle of Man nearly to the close of the Scandinavian rule.

Though there is no indication either way in the wording of the older Ogam inscriptions—the characters, language, and formula of which might be Irish of the fifth century—it is more reasonable to suppose that this form of writing was introduced by, and that the monuments were set up to, Christians; and the fact that one of those commemorated was a “Son of the Druid” implies that the new religion had but recently been adopted. Of the date of the conversion of the Celtic Manx we have no direct evidence, “but from the large proportion of the names of Irish ecclesiastics surviving in the appellation of the old Manx Keeils or Cells, which are of similar type to the Irish oratories of the sixth and seventh centuries, and in the dedication of the Manx parish churches, which are usually on ancient sites, it may be reasonably conjectured that Manxmen were for the most part Christianized by Irish missionaries; and indeed it would have been strange if the proselytizing Irish monks, who, beginning in the sixth century, wandered all over Europe, had avoided an island so near to them.”¹

These ancient Keeils,² in the walls or the immediate neighbourhood of which, or of the older parish churches, our monuments have almost invariably been found, are all, unfortunately, in a complete state of ruin. Some idea of their structure and appearance will help us to realize the conditions under which our earlier crosses were erected.

Dr. Oliver, in whose time there were better opportunities of studying their remains, thus describes them in the *Manx Society*, vol. xv., 1868, p. 80: “In their materials and construction they correspond with the account given in the *Book of Armagh* of similar places of worship

¹ *History of the Isle of Man*. A. W. Moore, M.A.

² Doubtless the same word as the Irish Cille, Cill, Kil. Whether derived from the Latin *Cella*, or, as suggested by Mr. Borlase (*The Dolmens of Ireland*, iii., 790), from an older word in use among the ancient inhabitants of Ireland, but of Teutonic origin, signifying Burial-place, it appears to have been applied in Man only to the primitive little churches or chapels at one time so numerous, till superseded by the Norse Kirk (Kirkja), which is the prefix to all except two of our parish churches.

in Ireland, of the age of St. Patrick." When the Apostle visited Tirawley (he quotes) "he built there a quadrangular church of moist earth, because there was no wood near. Here," he adds, "we have an exact description of the Manx Cabbal, and there can be no doubt that the primitive Churches of Ireland formed the model of the Manx. . . . The Cabbal and Keeil are invariably quadrangular, the lights oblong or quadrilateral openings, splaying inwards, and the stonework of the doors and windows unchiselled." He accompanies his description with a figure of "the Cabbal of the Fifth Century," but does not say from what his figure or his description is taken.

The word "Cabbal" is doubtless a mere corruption of the English "Chapel," and I do not think that Oliver's distinction between it and the Keeil can be maintained, nor is it likely that they belong to so early a period as that assigned by him. The latter he supposes to have been introduced about the middle of the sixth century, and says of them:—"These churches are of two kinds; one built wholly of stone, and the other of a mixture of sods and stones. They are larger than the Cabbals, and measure from fifteen to twenty feet in length by twelve in breadth, but rarely exceed these dimensions. . . . In a few instances the Keeil carries a slab roof. It has also side lights and a door of entrance in the south wall." He gives a figure, but again, unfortunately, omits to say from what it or his description is taken. He then proceeds to quote Bede's account of the building of S. Cuthbert's Church, Lindisfarne,¹ in 684, as exactly describing the method pursued in the Isle of Man, giving reference—*Beda. Vit. Cudberti*, p. 243. As Giles' edition of Bede's Works, vol. iv., p. 264-5, gives a much better translation, I quote from it instead (*Vita S. Cuthberti*, chap. xvii.):—"Of the habitation which he made for himself in the island of Farne, when he had expelled the Devils. . . . The building is almost of a round form, from wall to wall about four or five poles in extent; the wall on the outside is higher than a man, but within, by excavating the rock, he made it much deeper, to prevent the eyes and the thoughts from wandering, that the mind might be wholly bent on heavenly things, and the pious inhabitant might behold nothing from his residence but the heavens above him. The wall was constructed not of hewn stones or of brick and mortar, but of rough stones and turf, which had been taken out from the ground within. Some of them were so large that four men could hardly have lifted them. . . . He finished the walls of them by digging round and cutting away the natural soil within and without, and formed the roof out of rough poles and straw."

The ruins of the Keeil and enclosure at Ballingan, Marown, will give the reader some idea of one of these old places of worship. It is situated about a mile-and-a-quarter from the Peel road, and south of Marown parish church (see Map). The enclosure on which it stands is one hundred and six feet long by sixty-three feet broad, inside measurements, and in an excellent state of preservation. In the south-east part lies the Keeil, which measures thirteen feet E. and W., by nine feet N. and S., the walls remaining being about four feet high by three feet thick. The masonry, says Dr. Oliver, is of a much superior description than is usual "in Keeils of the sod and stone formation." In the west end there has once been a window, but it is now entirely destroyed. The doorway is in the south-east angle, guarded by two inclining monolithic jambs, and not more than one foot ten inches wide.

¹ Farne. The account expressly says *not* Lindisfarne.

PLATE I.



FIG. 2—RUINS OF KEEIL, BALLINGAN, MAROWN.



FIG. 3—FOUNDATIONS OF KEEIL, BALLAQUINNEY, MAROWN.

PLATE II.



FIG. 4—KEEIL, BALLAKILLY.



FIG. 5—ST. TRINIANS.

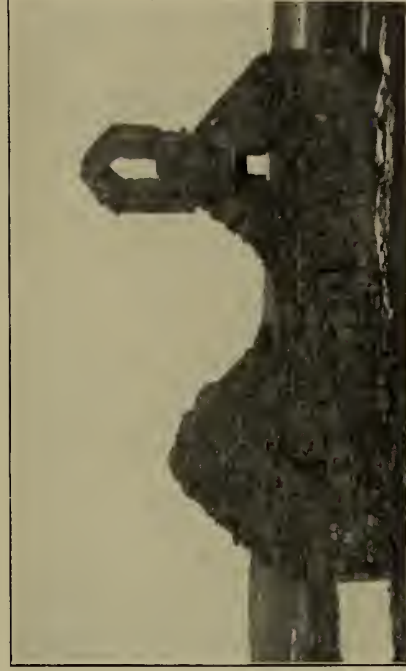


FIG. 6—CHAPEL ON ST. MICHAEL'S ISLE.

Sir Henry Dryden has left a plan (1873) of a Keeil on Ballaquinney, close by the last, which is reproduced in fig. 1. It measures fifteen feet four inches by ten feet inside. The door, one foot nine inches wide, is in the west wall, and the walls are about five feet thick, and three feet high inside. The surrounding enclosure is a hundred and thirty-five feet long by a hundred and eleven broad, inside measurement. In Plate I., figs. 2 and 3, I give views of these remains from photographs taken for me by Mr. T. H. Midwood.

Keeil Woirrey, in Corna¹ valley, Maughold, where an early Celtic cross and a late Runic inscription have been found, measures inside twelve feet by nine; the walls are over three feet thick. The floor was thought to show traces of pebble pavement, but this might be due to the collection of white quartz pebbles, which we find, sometimes in great numbers, in many of our old burial grounds, both Christian and Pagan.

Dr. Oliver describes an entirely different class of buildings, which he thinks are intermediate between the Keeils and the churches of the Middle Ages. These, he says, are the true *treen*² churches, introduced towards the close of the eighth century. . . . The masonry is still rude, but for the first time we find it put together with cement (*i.e.*, of plastic clay). He then describes the *treen* church of Ballakilley, Malew, lying three miles north-east of the parish church, and about fifty yards from the farmhouse:—"Its dimensions inside are twenty-one feet long by nine in breadth. The western gable, crowned with ivy, is still standing, but the east end is in ruins, and blocked to the height of the remaining portion by quantities of fallen masonry. This church has a very peculiar appearance from the walls being built of rounded boulders of granite and quartz, giving to the whole the resemblance of a pile of cannon balls. Their height is six feet three inches from the ground to the spring of the roof, and the western gable sixteen feet nine inches to the peak. In the south wall near the eastern angle is the door of entrance, five feet two inches in height by two feet six inches at base, and diminishing upwards to two feet. Opposite it, in the north side, is a square-headed window, and another in the south wall near the west end. This window, externally, is two feet six inches high by one foot six inches broad, splaying inwards. Internally it measures two feet six inches high by three feet broad. In the north-west angle of the gable is a similar window, measuring one foot five inches long by nine inches broad, and splaying internally to one foot five inches in length by one foot eight inches in breadth, so that the external and internal measurements are reversed" (Plate II., fig. 4).

I figure also the ruins of two other churches which come within the period of our later Scandinavian monuments—dating probably from the latter half of the twelfth century.

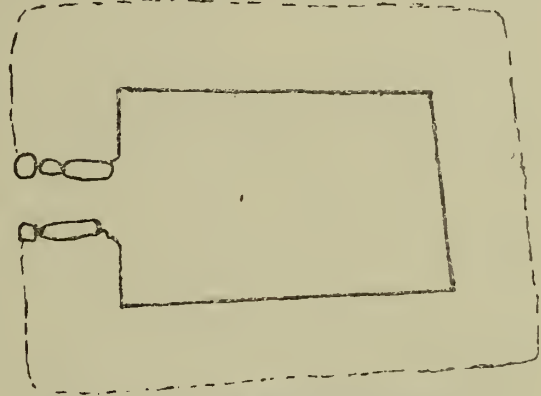


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF BALLAQUINNEY KEEIL.
(Sir H. Dryden.)

¹ Pronounced "Cornay," with the accent on the second syllable.

² "Treen," whatever the origin of the word, is a division of land, and a *Treen* church is a Keeil belonging to such a division.

S. Trinian's, at the foot of Greeba, Marown, measures seventy-five by twenty-four feet. My figure 5 is from a drawing by the late Sir Henry Dryden. The chapel on S. Michael's Isle, near Langness (fig. 6, from a photograph taken for me by Mr. J. Kewley, of King William's College), measures thirty-two by about fifteen feet inside. Both show the Celtic type of plain rectangular building. Even the Cathedral at Peel, of which the chancel may date from about 1195, and the lower transepts and nave about 1226, shows no decoration or carving, but mouldings of the plainest kind.

With such severe simplicity and total absence of ornament in the ecclesiastical architecture of the period, it is not to be wondered at that our early sepulchral monuments are generally of the rudest and most simple description. This primitive period to which our Ogam pillars and probably most of our smaller undecorated cross-slabs belong, continued for about three centuries with little or no change; and now the Island was to feel the wave of the Scandinavian invasion, which, though it impoverished and arrested the growth of the Church, did not, like that of the Saxons into central England at the end of the fifth century, entirely extinguish it. In 795 the Vikings¹ appeared in the Irish Sea, and for the following century Man must have suffered from their plundering expeditions. When at last, about 883, Harold Hárfager had brought all Norway under his sway, and many of his countrymen, rather than submit, had "fled from their heritage out of Norway" to the Western Isles, Harold followed to drive them out or bring them under subjection. From Caithness, Hebrides, and the Orkneys many made for the Faroes and Iceland, which owe their population to this circumstance,² and it was among the latter that the epic prose compositions—the Sagas—originated. Others sought refuge in the Sudreys,³ which he "laid under his rule."

When Harold returned, however, the Vikings haunted the Islands, and "harried and robbed far and wide" (*Landnáma-bók*). It was probably about the end of this century or the beginning of the tenth that the Scandinavians, for the most part Norwegians, came to settle in the Isle of Man, which for the following century fell under the rule of the successors of Olaf the White, who had made himself King over Dublin. Though still pagan, they had been sufficiently long in contact with the Celtic inhabitants not only of Man, but of the Western Isles, to have become acquainted with their language and their customs, and to tolerate their religion—which, indeed, had been accepted by many individuals among them;⁴ and though in the absence of inscriptions we have no means of dating the monuments with precision, it is probable that Christianity and the Celtic Church had revived, and that our later Celtic or pre-Scandinavian pieces, carved in relief and highly decorated, belong to this period.

¹ The Vikings, Wick-folk, supposed to be so called as "men of the bays" from their infesting Wicks, creeks and fiords. But I prefer Vigfusson's later suggestion (*Corpus Poet. Bor.*, i., Intro. lxiii.) that it was rather because they came to us from *the Wick* (Scage Rack), "the centre and natural outlet of the dales of South Norwegian tribes, of Gauts, of Jutes, the land whence Godfred and Ragnar and Guthrum, aye, and Harold Fairhair and his sons, and Cnut also, sailed West, whence certainly came the leaders of the greatest Kingdoms the Northern Emigrants raised in these islands."

² Iceland had already been visited and partly occupied by Irish Christians, who "went away because they would not be here with heathen men, and left behind them Irish books, and bells and crooks" (*Libellus Islandorum*, i., 3).

³ The Orkneys and Shetlands were called the Nordreys or Northern Isles, and the Hebrides and Islands off the West of Scotland the Sudreys, Southern Isles, a term which has come down to us in the name of our Ecclesiastical diocese, Latinized as "*Sodorenensis et Manniæ*," which was contracted into "Sodor : et Man :" and finally corrupted into Sodor and Man!

⁴ No doubt there were many like Helgi, the lean, of whom we are told in *Landnáma-bók*, "He was very mixed in his aith. He put his trust in Christ and named his homestead after him, but yet he would pray to Thor on sea voyages, and in hard stresses and in all those things that he thought were of most account to him" (iii., 14, 3).

In the year 985 Olaf Tryggvasson visited Man in the course of his Viking expedition, and, ten years later, on his way to Norway, captured Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, only releasing him upon his undertaking that the Orkneys should accept the Christian religion. But upon the death of Godred, King of Man, in 989, the Island had come into the possession of Sigurd, forming part of his kingdom of the Nordreys and Caithness, as well as the Sudreys. In the last year of Olaf's short reign, 1000, the Icelandic Althing formally legalized Christianity,¹ and the conversion of the whole of Norway itself was completed in the reign of Olaf the Saint, 1015-1030. The Scandinavian settlers, therefore, in Man and the Sudreys would have been gradually prepared for, and had no doubt "received Christendom," during the first quarter of the eleventh century. We find accordingly that soon after the middle of the century there was a Norwegian Bishop in the Island—Roolwer (Hrólfur)—who, says the Chronicle, was the first Bishop, and was succeeded by another, William, before the time when Godred Crovan began to reign, that is to say, before 1075.²

Though we do not know the exact year of Bishop Roolwer's death, nor can we tell when he came to the Island, his appearance here gives us an approximate date for the first of our Scandinavian Christian monuments, which cannot well be older than about 1025 or 1030; and as Gaut claims, in one of his inscriptions, Michael 74, to have made all the crosses in Man, there must have been an interval after the latest Celtic work sufficiently long to have allowed these latter to have been lost and forgotten.

The continuity of the Church under the Christian Scandinavians, says Mr. Moore, "is proved by the fact that the inscribed crosses, dating from the latter part of the Scandinavian period, are for the most part found on ancient sacred sites dedicated to Celtic saints, whose names have come down to our own times."³ It is proved, also, by the nature of the monuments themselves: not only is the form the same, not only is the cross carved upon them always of the Celtic type, but the decorative treatment and the individual patterns and designs are such as might have been taken direct from Celtic illuminated MSS.—indeed, they probably were—until by slow degrees the Scandinavian artists freed themselves from the Celtic trammels so far as to introduce Zoomorphic designs and dragons of distinctly Norse type, and even figures illustrating scenes from the Norse mythology. In one respect only did they show no indebtedness to any Celtic or even Christian model, and that was in their inscriptions—the formula, the language, and the characters of which were peculiarly Norse, and derived from their own heathen monuments.

Among the followers of Godred Crovan in 1075 may possibly have been one at least to succeed Gaut the sculptor; but the great expedition of Magnus Barefoot in 1098, followed by a fresh influx of Norwegian settlers, is perhaps even more likely to have introduced such skilled artists; and we may agree with Canon Taylor, with respect to Olaf, King of Man, that "all the conditions point to his long reign, 1103-1153 A.D., as a period favourable to the erection of some of the more costly crosses on the Island."⁴

¹ "The summer when Christendom was taken into the laws of Iceland were gone from the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand winters" (*Cristne Saga*, 8, 11, p. 403).

² The first Bishop in Iceland was Isleif—from about 1056 to 1080—but it had been visited by missionary bishops since about 976; the first church was built in 984.

³ *Diocesan Histories: Sodor and Man* (A. W. Moore, M.A.), p. 31.

⁴ *Manx Note Book*, July, 1886, p. 102.

The foundation of the Abbey of Rushen in 1134 was an important event in the history of the Manx Church, leading practically to its subjection to the great English Abbey of Furness. Its influence would naturally be opposed to this class of monument as to anything peculiar to the native Church—and especially to the inscriptions in Runes which savoured of paganism¹—and would favour and support the spread of Catholicism. If the handsome tombstone shown at Furness as that of Reginald, King of Man, who was slain in battle in 1226, and buried at Furness Abbey, be really his, it shows that he, as a staunch son of the Church, was commemorated by a monument of English art; and we have at Rushen Abbey a Gothic coffin-lid of the thirteenth century which bears no inscription, but may have been that of King Olaf the Black, 1237, or of his son Reginald, 1249, or of his other son and Reginald's successor, Magnus, the last of the Scandinavian Kings of Man, 1265, all of whom were buried at Rushen. In any case, I think it very unlikely that any of our sculptured monuments of this early school of Celtic art are later than the very beginning of the thirteenth century.

These monuments, pre-Scandinavian and Scandinavian alike, are all of local rock, derived generally from their immediate vicinity, for the most part clay-slate, in some cases of a hard metamorphic character; one or two early pieces in Marown and Malew are of local granite; one at Kirk Bride of red sandstone, probably from a boulder found in the neighbourhood; and one, at Maughold, of Poolvaish limestone, which must have been brought from the South of the Island.

Though for convenience I speak of them as Crosses, they are more properly described as Cross-slabs—upright monuments ranging from about two feet six inches to six feet (and, in a few cases, seven and eight feet high²) by about fifteen to twenty-four inches wide, and from two to four inches thick. While generally rectangular in shape, or roughly so, they sometimes have the head rounded, and a few are wheel-headed. Occasionally the spaces between the limbs and surrounding circle are pierced. In two late instances at Braddan the outline of the stone itself has been cruciform. The earlier pieces are incised, and among the seventy-one pre-Scandinavian only nine are decorated on both faces. In the later Norse examples it is the exception not to have both faces decorated. Owing to the nature of the material, the edges are narrow, and they are seldom ornamented, but on them the inscriptions are generally incised.

They are almost all sepulchral,³ but one from Peel may have been an altar-slab, and the square block from Bride, showing the Temptation of Adam and Eve, may have been an architectural feature built into the wall of a twelfth century church.

Out of the one hundred and sixteen pieces so far recovered, forty-five are Scandinavian and seventy-one of earlier date.⁴ The Parish of Maughold has by far the greatest number—thirty-seven; Michael coming next with ten, Braddan nine, and Jurby eight; Andreas, German,

¹ So, with the Anglo-Saxons, when they were converted to Christianity, the Runic characters went almost wholly out of use, giving place to the Latin introduced by the missionaries.

² Three are nine feet and upwards, while six are less than two feet.

³ In two or three instances I have found them set at the head of modern graves, but only one has been deliberately altered and inscribed afresh—and that so long ago as 1699—viz., Michael 85.

⁴ That is to say, they show no certain indication of Scandinavian art or workmanship. Where there is no inscription this is obviously all one has to go upon in forming a judgment.

and Lonan have seven each ; Conchan six ; Rushen and Marown five each ; Bride four ; Santon and Malew three each ; Arbory two ; and Lezayre, Patrick, and Ballaugh one each.

DISTRIBUTION¹

PARISH.	PRE-SCANDINAVIAN.			SCANDINAVIAN.			TOTAL OF CROSSES.	PARISH.
	Uninscribed.	Inscribed.	TOTAL.	Uninscribed.	Inscribed.	TOTAL.		
1. MICHAEL . . .	1	—	1	2	7	9	10	MICHAEL.
2. BALLAUGH . . .	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	BALLAUGH.
3. JURBY . . .	1	—	1	6	1	7	8	JURBY.
4. ANDREAS . . .	—	—	—	2	5	7	7	ANDREAS.
5. BRIDE . . .	1	—	1	2	1	3	4	BRIDE.
6. LEZAYRE . . .	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	LEZAYRE.
7. MAUGHOLD . . .	27	3	30	4	3	7	37	MAUGHOLD.
8. LONAN . . .	7	—	7	—	—	—	7	LONAN.
9. CONCHAN . . .	5	—	5	—	1	1	6	CONCHAN.
10. BRADDAN . . .	5	—	5	—	4	4	9	BRADDAN.
11. SANTON . . .	2	1	3	—	—	—	3	SANTON.
12. MALEW . . .	2	—	2	1	—	1	3	MALEW.
13. ARBORY . . .	—	2	2	—	—	—	2	ARBORY.
14. RUSHEN . . .	2	2	4	1	—	1	5	RUSHEN.
15. PATRICK . . .	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	PATRICK.
16. GERMAN . . .	4	—	4	1	2	3	7	GERMAN.
17. MAROWN . . .	4	—	4	—	1	1	5	MAROWN.
TOTALS . . .	63	8	71	19	26	45	116	

	PRE-SCANDINAVIAN.	SCANDINAVIAN.	TOTAL.
NORTHERN DISTRICT...	41	34	75
SOUTHERN „ ...	30	11	41
	<u>71</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>116</u>

It is interesting to note the larger proportion of the earlier Celtic pieces in the old Parishes—Maughold, Lonan, Conchan, Braddan, Rushen, and German. Except in the case of Maughold and Braddan, the Scandinavian pieces are met with in greater numbers where there are very few or no Celtic, as in Andreas, Michael, and Jurby. As the crosses extend over a period of more than six centuries, the total recovered probably represents but a small proportion of those erected, and it is only when we come to examine and carefully study the few which still remain that we can appreciate the extent of the loss to the Island of those which have been taken away or destroyed.

Even as it is, there is no district of so small an area² which can boast so great a number of monuments of this class, extending over such a lengthy period, and having such a variety of interest—Ogam, Latin, and Runic inscriptions, Celtic art with its Scandinavian application and

¹ See Maps.

² The Isle of Man measures about 30 miles long, with a central breadth of from 8 to 12 miles, and, together with the Calf Island, contains only 227 square miles.

development, Christian symbols and pagan myths! Is it possible that they will be suffered any longer to stand exposed and to perish before the eyes of the people who possess in them so great a treasure? Surely, before it is too late, they will be collected and preserved with that loving care which their venerable associations and their intrinsic merits demand.

LITERATURE

The first copies of these monuments were made in 1841¹ by W. Bally, of Manchester, who took casts of some of the inscriptions for a Mr. Jones; these, in 1844, were bought by Sir Henry Dryden, and after his death presented by Miss Dryden to the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society, in whose collection they now are. In 1853 Sir Henry visited the Island, staying with Captain Goldie at Ballagarey; he gave Cumming £25 towards getting a set of moulds and casts, which was done.² When Cumming shortly afterwards left the Island, he left with Quilliam, marble mason, some of the moulds to make what he could out of them by casting and selling copies.

In 1873 Sir Henry Dryden again visited the Island, and found that nearly all the casts had been destroyed. Some of the moulds in Quilliam's possession he bought, and in 1874 gave them to Liverpool; but they were found too much damaged to cast from.

In 1889 Mr. T. H. Royston, of Douglas, began to make my collection, which I should scarcely have attempted had he not been good enough to charge me only the actual cost of material and his out-of-pocket expenses, besides finding house-room for the moulds, and in other ways assisting me. As the casts have been of the greatest help to me in preparing this work, I feel duly grateful, and as the collection, which is in the Museum at Castle Rushen, is now complete and forms a permanent record, accessible to students and experts, residents and visitors, I think that Manxmen generally, and all who are interested in the development of Christian art in the British Isles and the history of our Celtic and of our Scandinavian forefathers, will share this feeling.

In 1841 W. Kinnebrook published his *Etchings of the Runic Monuments in the Isle of Man*. The etchings, twenty-six, are on too small a scale and incorrect in detail; the inscriptions are hopelessly bad. The letterpress gives merely the site and the measurements.

Professor P. A. Munch, who saw copies of the casts taken by Bally, was the first to read the Runic inscriptions correctly, or nearly so. His readings of several were first published in the *Mémoires* of the Royal Society for the Ancient Literature of the North, 1845-1849, p. 192, and appeared again, revised by his hand, in "The Author's Preface" to the *Chronicle of Man and the Sudreys*, as published by the Manx Society, vol. xxii., 1874, p. 26.

Dr. Daniel Wilson, in *The Archæology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, 1851, gives six of our inscriptions, acknowledging "the assistance of Professor P. A. Munch in translating them." Possibly these were from the copies of the casts at Edinburgh.³

¹ Train (*History of the Isle of Man*, vol. ii., p. 32) says:—"In the summer of 1839, Mr. William Bally, of King Street, Manchester, visited the Isle of Man and took casts in plaster of Paris of all the runes in the Island." I got the date 1841 from Sir Henry Dryden; possibly that was the year in which Mr. Jones received them.

² On the back of one of these, which was broken, I found the name of the Italian engaged to take the casts—"L. Canepa, 12 May, 1853. Viva l'Italia e la liberta / morte a la Tiranni della patria." He appears to have taken about forty; in five or six instances one face of the stone only was cast.

³ Dr. Hibbert-Ware left twelve volumes of MS., from 1848, now in Manchester Free Library, including (pp. 126-142) about sixteen drawings of Manx Crosses and some inscriptions. They are of no particular value however.

In 1852 was published *An Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland*, by J. J. Warsaae. This work refers to the crosses in Man of which Warsaae had seen the casts at Edinburgh and at Canons Ashby. Figures are given of five which have inscriptions.

Sir Henry Dryden has left the following MS. note:—"In 1853, Miss Wilkes, of the Isle of Man, possessed the original sketches from which the prints of the Runic stones were done in Trans. of Royal Society, Edinburgh. Done for the Duke of Athol."¹

In 1857 the Rev. J. G. Cumming, who had left the Island for Lichfield, published his *Runic and other Monumental Remains of the Isle of Man*, illustrated by figures "taken from photographs of the casts." In 1868 Cumming contributed an essay on "The Runic Inscriptions of the Isle of Man" to the *Manx Society* (vol. xv.). In the same volume he gave an illustrated description of "Some more recently-discovered Scandinavian Crosses in the Isle of Man"; also an illustrated paper "On the ornamentation of the Runic monuments in the Isle of Man." Of the forty-eight described by Cumming, only eighteen are pre-Scandinavian. He was the first to treat of their decoration in a scientific spirit, but his illustrations are far from perfect, and since his time our knowledge of the subject has increased.

Mr. W. Kneale, of Douglas, brought out a *Guide to the Isle of Man* in 1860, which gives figures and readings of some of the inscriptions.

In July, 1886, an article on "The Manx Runes," by Canon Isaac Taylor, appeared in the *Manx Note Book*, p. 97, dealing mainly with the chronology of the Scandinavian inscriptions, and in the October number, p. 164, this was reviewed by Professor W. Boyd Dawkins and Mr. Henry Bradley.

Dr. Vigfusson, of Oxford, contributed a valuable and interesting article, "The Manx Runic Inscriptions Re-read," to the *Manx Note Book*, No. 9, January, 1887. In the *Academy*, No. 773, February 26th, 1887, and succeeding numbers, Canon Isaac Taylor, Sir Henry Dryden, and the present author criticised some of the re-readings, and Dr. Vigfusson replied.

In January, 1887, Mr. Romilly Allen read before the British Archæological Association (*Journ. Brit. Archæol. Assoc.*, vol. xl, p. 158) a paper on "The Early Christian Monuments of the Isle of Man"; and in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, June, 1887, pp. 328 and 331, and May, 1889, pp. 333, 336-338, appeared accounts by Mr. G. F. Black of the Andreas pieces, 84, 95, and 102.

In 1887 the present Author published a Catalogue of Manx Crosses, followed by a second revised and enlarged edition in 1892. In 1895 he contributed "Saga Illustrations on early Manx Monuments" to the Viking Club, and to *Archæologia Cambrensis* of July in the same year he gave an account of the Santon inscription, 34, the only Latin one then known in the Island; and to *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, January, 1896, the Guriat inscription, Maughold 48, then recently discovered. In *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist*, April, 1896, and April and July, 1902, appeared his accounts of Lonan and Maughold crosses; and, in 1903, the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society published in pamphlet form his "Traces of the Norse Mythology in the Isle of Man," illustrated with ten plates of Scandinavian Crosses.

In *Nordiske Runeindskrifter og Billeder paa mindesmærker paa Æen Man*, Copenhagen, 1900

¹ But were these published? They do not appear in the *T.R.S.E.* about that time.

Prof. S. Bugge reviewed the writer's pamphlet on the Saga illustrations and catalogue, and offered further and valuable explanations of the inscriptions and the figures on our Scandinavian pieces.

Finally, in 1904, Prof. Alexander Bugge, who had visited the Island and examined the stones, made important references to them in *Vikingerne*, Christiania, translated into German by Dr. Heinz Hungerland, "Die Wikinger," Halle, 1906.

PLAN OF PRESENT WORK

In the following pages the plates are on a larger scale than in any of the Author's previous writings, and this is necessary where there is much detail in the ornament. They are taken from photographs of the full-size drawings, all of which are founded on rubbings carefully outlined with the original stone as a copy. In shading and finishing the drawings I have had the benefit of the casts, which I could move about so as to get the most favourable light, now for one part, now for another, thus bringing out details which no photograph of the original could give. Where any restoration has been attempted, it has been carefully kept distinct by drawing in the outline merely, if the piece is broken off the stone, and not shading. In some cases where the pattern is flaked off the face of the stone or very badly worn, and it has been possible to restore it, I have done so by using dotted lines in order to distinguish from cut lines appearing on the stone.

In the descriptive part I have endeavoured to arrange the whole series, so far as possible, in chronological order, except where it has seemed more convenient to keep together those belonging to distinct groups, such as the four Sigurd pieces, which are of different dates. In the absence of dated inscriptions it is, of course, impossible to give this order with certainty; some may be contemporary work by different hands; one can but take all things into account—the inscription, the decorative ornament where there is any, the form of the cross itself, the execution, whether incised or in relief, and the shape and general appearance of the stone—and so classify according to type and the architectural relationship one to another. More than half of the pieces are here for the first time fully described and figured, namely, about forty-four Celtic and seventeen Scandinavian. With respect to the rest, I am unable to agree with Canon Taylor's arrangement. The Mal Lumkun cross is undoubtedly later than Gaut's pieces, and earlier than a good many others, and the difference in the Futhork is due to its being Swedish, whereas the others are Norwegian. The Ballaugh cross is, I think, earlier than that at St. John's (Tynwald), and so with others, while the Conchan Dog crosses appear to me to be Celtic, not Scandinavian. But, as I said, the chronological order cannot be given with absolute certainty, and each one who studies the subject will probably have a different opinion as to the exact position of some one or other of the monuments in relation to the rest.

Whatever arrangement we adopt, however, we may see in the whole collection a continuous series—from the rude unhewn blocks bearing nothing but incised inscriptions in Ogam, stones with surface undressed exhibiting the cross incised, and, later, sculptured in relief, many void of any ornamentation, others decorated with the most simple designs, geometrical patterns, growing more elaborate and beautiful, figures and pictorial scenes, Christian and heathen—the most interesting point of all being the development of Celtic art under the hands of Scandinavian artists. Finally, to complete the circle, we have rough undressed stones bearing

nothing but inscriptions incised in Runes which may be as late as the beginning of the thirteenth century, after which this class of monument gives place to Gothic work, as seen in the thirteenth century coffin-lid at Rushen Abbey, and in the beautiful fourteenth or fifteenth century standing cross at Maughold.

The number of artists represented in these hundred and sixteen pieces it is impossible to give, but not more than about half-a-dozen—more generally two or three—of the crosses can be assigned to any one hand. It seems remarkable that no trace of this beautiful decorative work has come down to us in any other form, and particularly that its influence has not made itself felt in Manx architecture either during the period of the crosses or at any time after.

Nor can its influence be traced in the work of modern times, or in the present day life of the people. Nothing now remains to show that the Isle of Man for many years produced a local form of decorative art equal in originality, in purity of feeling, and skill in execution to any Celtic, Hiberno-Saxon, or other similar art to be met with in the surrounding lands—nothing but these neglected and perishing monuments!

I trust that one result of my work will be a more just appreciation of these remains, the loss of which can never be replaced, with a desire for bringing to light any that may still remain hidden from view, and for their collection and preservation in the districts to which they belong.



ART OF THE MANX CROSSES

OCTOR ANDERSON'S Introduction to *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*¹ gives an admirable review of the whole monumental system of the early Christianity of the British Isles.

In this system our Manx Monuments, as I hope to show by these pages, have an honourable place, with distinct local peculiarities.

As the primitive Christianity of Britain was an extension westwards of the Christianity of the Roman Empire, so the early Christian monuments of the British Isles form, as Dr. Anderson says, an extension westwards of the monumental system of that Empire, in the period succeeding the reign of Constantine. The influence of Roman civilization was less felt in Britain than on the Continent, and we find, as a local peculiarity, that it "is the only province of the old Roman Empire in which inscriptions on the early Christian monuments appear in the vernacular as well as in the Latin language."

"The figure of the cross," Dr. Anderson continues, "is absent from the earlier monuments both of Britain and Gaul. But from the time of Constantine the monogram XPICTOC , composed of the first three letters of the name XPICTOC , became the distinctive symbol of the faith, and was so used on the monuments." Later, "a horizontal bar placed across the elongated stem of the Rho produced a form P , which was the precursor of the symbol of the cross." We find a series of monuments showing a gradual change in the form by the broadening of the ends both of the Chi and Rho, and by shortening the stem and reducing the tail or loop of the latter to a tiny flourish, thus presenting the appearance of a plain cross patee. Mr. Romilly Allen in his *Early Christian Symbolism*, pp. 86-90, has traced the development of the cross as a design on these monuments from the monogram which originated in Constantine's dream; after A.D. 323, this "was universally recognised as signifying the name of the Saviour, and used . . . throughout the whole range of sacred art." Of this monogram there are three examples in the West of England,

¹ *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, by J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A., Hon. F.S.A.Scot.; and an Introduction being the Rhind Lectures for 1892, by Joseph Anderson, LL.D.

one in North Wales, four in the South-West of Scotland, and, as we have now discovered, one in the Isle of Man. The very instant of change into the cross is to be seen on the two stones at Kirkmadrine, Wigtownshire, and on one at Whithorne (fig. 7, numbers 3, 4, 5), where the cross, surrounded by a circle, has widely-expanded terminations to the limbs and a shaft attached, the only trace of its origin which remains being the little flourish at the right-hand upper corner representing the loop of the Rho. It only wants the limbs to be extended by square ends beyond the circle, and the shaft to assume larger proportions, in order to convert it into a typical Celtic cross; the hollow recesses at the junction of the limbs, which distinguish it from all other forms of cross, being the survival of the spaces between the vertical and horizontal arms of the Chi with widely-expanded ends; while the circle connecting the limbs represents that which originated in the wreath or crown of glory within which the monogram is so often inscribed. On a monument at Milan we find this circle thus explained, also the symbols Alpha and Omega and Chi-Rho¹:—

CIRCVLVS HIC SVMMI COMPRENDIT NOMINA REGIS
 QVEM SINE PRINCIPIO ET SINE FINE VIDES
 PRINCIPIVM CVM FINE SIMVL TIBI DENOTAT A ET \Omega
 X ET P CHRISTI NOMINA SANCTA TENENT—

The form with the horizontal bar P is met with in Gaul on monuments dating from 400 to 540. Thus "we obtain a definite starting point in the correspondence of the earliest Christian monuments of Britain with those of Gaul attributed to the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era—the whole British group of inscribed monuments of this early class being manifestly an extension westwards of the Continental group, but with inevitable local and racial variations."²

In Ireland the British type of early inscriptions in the Latin language and in Roman capitals gives place to the vernacular Celtic incised in Ogam. In Wales, with Devon and Cornwall, also are some Ogam inscriptions in the vernacular, many accompanied by Latin of similar sense. Dr. Anderson thinks the Ogam originated in Ireland, and that the oldest inscriptions

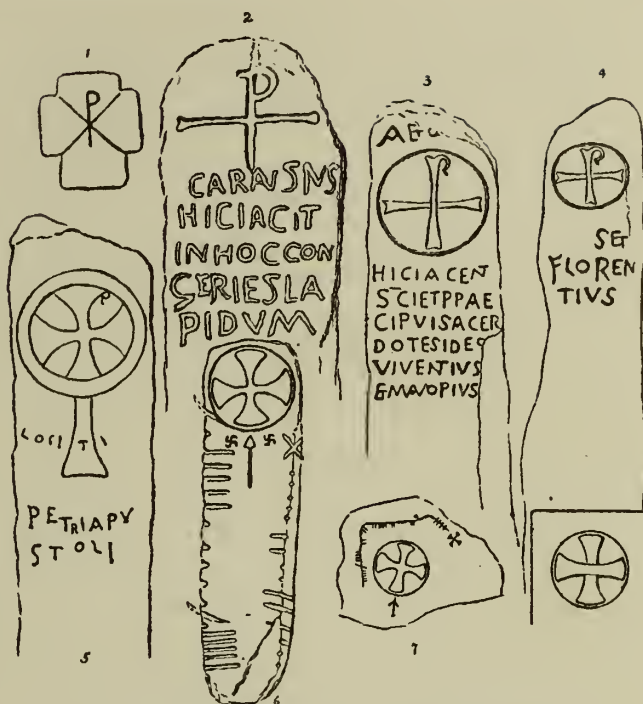


FIG. 7.—DEVELOPMENT OF CROSS FROM THE CHI-RHO MONOGRAM.

- (1) S. Just; (2) Penmachno; (3, 4) Kirkmadrine; (5) Whithorne; (6) Aglish; (7) Maumenorig; (8) Modern Dedication Cross, S. Olave's Church, Ramsey, 1860.

¹ *Early Christian Monuments*, Intro., p. xvi.

² *Ibid.*, p. vi.

are "not very much later" than the fifth century. Professor Rhys dates their origin as "probably about the fourth century," the inventor possibly being one of the race of invaders from the South of Ireland, who had visited South Wales and seen the Roman inscriptions there.

The earliest inscriptions in Man are in Ogam, and Irish in type; then we have one or two in Latin of British or Hiberno-Saxon type. The earliest decorated pieces also show generally Irish, but in a few instances British, influence, while Northumbrian appears only to be represented in one or two pieces from Maughold; from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, the monuments are Scandinavian in workmanship, though evidently evolved from Celtic models. In all, a hundred and sixteen examples have been brought to light, distributed over the whole Island, but no locality has proved to be so rich in them as that of Maughold on the east coast, where are no fewer than thirty-seven—one-third of the total—and more than any four other parishes.

In drawing conclusions, however, from their distribution, we must bear in mind that many others are known to have been broken up and used as material by the builders, while some have been carried off the Island,¹ others lost. We know of one² which was buried deep underground from a belief that it had been the cause of murrain to the man's cattle! Others, again, are still hidden in the walls of old churches—indeed, it is from the demolition or extensive restoration of these buildings that so many have been brought to light.

Of those which have been brought to light, the greater number—ninety—are now in Parish Churches, Keeils, and Churchyards³; fifteen are in the Insular Museum; five in private houses or gardens; five in open fields or by the side of the high road; and one, which has been described and figured, is lost.

At least eighty of these have been upright slabs, roughly rectangular in outline, of which about fifty are complete or nearly so, and twenty or thirty are represented by broken fragments—seldom more than one fragment of a single cross. Only two or three appear to have been recumbent. Eight of the slabs have the upper corners rounded, while about a dozen more may be described as Wheel-crosses, the head being rounded to the point where it joins the shaft, with the limbs in some cases very slightly projecting. Eight are boulders and unhewn pillars; two early pieces are cruciform in outline, and two of the latest (one broken) are pillar crosses of Celtic type; one appears to have been an altar-stone, and one apparently an architectural detail in a church.

Of the fifty unbroken, the largest is the Clagh Ard (High stone) at Port St. Mary, eleven feet four inches; the next the Joalf Cross, Michael, ten feet; and Roolwer Cross, Maughold, nine feet. The smallest is nine inches, Peel, and the average about four feet six inches.

Those that remain fall naturally into two divisions—the pre-Scandinavian, which for convenience we may speak of as Celtic, and the Scandinavian.

Of the pre-Scandinavian we know of seventy-one examples, including the one now lost, but seen and figured by Kinnebrook and Cumming. Their distribution is remarkable—namely,

¹ Among those taken off the Island, Mr. Wallace had three pieces in his museum at Distington, near Whitehaven. After his death, however, these were purchased by the Insular Government, and have now been returned and placed in the temporary museum at Castle Rushen.

² This was in a field near St. John's. Before the old man's death about eight years ago, the Rev. J. Corlett, Chaplain of St. John's, and I tried to discover where he had buried it, but he had forgotten or was unable to describe the exact spot, and though we tried several times, our labour was in vain.

³ Including Peel, where four are built into the Cathedral walls, and one is stored in the modern Guard-house.

thirty from the parish of Maughold ; seven from Lonan ; five each from Conchan and Braddan ; four each from Rushen, German, and Marown ; three from Santon ; two each from Malew and Arbory ; and one each from Bride, Lezayre, Patrick, Michael, and Jurby. In all, forty-one "Celtic" pieces from the Northern District and thirty from the Southern.

These may be sub-divided into slabs which are merely incised, very few of which show any decoration, and those which are sculptured in relief, some of which exhibit great beauty of design and excellence of workmanship equal to any monuments of similar character met with elsewhere. Intermediate between these are half-a-dozen showing sunk work.

The cross-slabs of our first class, Pre-Scandinavian, are rarely inscribed, and as regards the more primitive examples, we are only able to judge of their probable sequence by the form and development of the cross upon them, and by their appearance generally. The later pieces afford more solid grounds for judgment by the style of their decorative treatment.

Of symbolism on these early pieces we have very little—a solitary instance of the Alpha and Omega ; one example of the cross-form, showing clearly its development from the Chi-Rho monogram, and approximating to those at Kirkmadrine ; and the "Celtic" form of cross which is derived from that sacred symbol. In one case, Maughold 65, the pastoral staff no doubt denotes the episcopal office, and I regard the figure of a ladle, Lonan 49, as used symbolically to denote the priestly office—a unique instance.

As regards inscriptions, we have three in Latin, one of them of the Welsh type, in debased Roman capitals, one in Hiberno-Saxon capitals and Minuscules, and one in Hiberno-Saxon Minuscules. Of Ogams we have four which, if their history were not known, could not be distinguished from those of Munster, while three of much later date belong to the "Scholastic" or Pictish group of the north-east of Scotland and the Northern Isles. A single example in Anglian Runes forms a link with the Northumbrian group.

CLASS I.—PRE-SCANDINAVIAN

DIVISION I.—INCISED

The first division of this Class, the incised pieces, falls into three natural sub-divisions :—
(*a*) The Ogam-inscribed stones. These, which have been met with only in the South of the Island, are rude, unhewn blocks, unformed and undressed, without decoration or symbol, dating probably from the beginning of the sixth century. Though bearing no figure of a cross, they are sepulchral monuments belonging to this type. The next sub-division, (*b*), consists of those which exhibit a figure of the cross of varying form, but rather inclined to be equal-limbed, rudely incised in lines. A further development, (*c*), bears the cross in outline, still on unhewn stones, with no ornamentation, and only in three instances inscribed.

The four pieces constituting sub-division (*a*) exhibit no art, strictly speaking, consisting of unhewn pillars or boulders with short inscriptions in Ogams.

In our next sub-division, (*b*), we meet with forms of Linear cross, undecorated (fig. 8). Three of these are the Latin cross without a surrounding circle, the two at St. Patrick's Chair forming the cross boutonée, of which we have a few early examples in Cornwall, Wales, the Hebrides, and Perthshire. While these pages were going through the press, we found at Lonan two other pieces, the first bearing an equal-limbed cross surmounted by a half circle, the upper and lower limbs decorated with crosslets. The other has equal-limbed crosses ; that on one face contained within a circle.

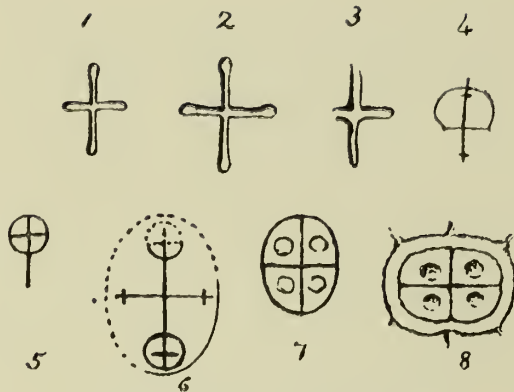


FIG. 8.—FORMS OF LINEAR CROSSES.

Without Circle—(1, 2) S. Patrick's Chair; (3) Grenaby; (4) Lonan 8.

With Circle—(5) Maughold 10; (6) Conchan 11; (7) Braddan 12 (lost); (8) Kerrowkiel Malew 13.

Scotland, and there are a few instances in Wales, as at Llanmadoc, and in Ireland.

The lost piece from Braddan 12, had circlets between the limbs, which on the boulder from Kerrowkiel, Malew 13, become four shallow cup-like depressions. By drawing lines outwards from about the centre of these rings or hollows, parallel with the incised arms of the cross, and connecting their ends, we evolve a form like that of the "Celtic Cross" (fig. 9). I do not, however, suggest that it originated in this way, believing that it was developed from the Chi-Rho symbol, as described by Mr. Romilly Allen.



FIG. 9.—CELTIC FORM OF CROSS SUGGESTED BY CIRCLES OR HOLLOWS BETWEEN THE LIMBS.

Sometimes a rectangular panel takes the place of the circle or "glory" with which generally the cross is surrounded. Of this we have an instance in the Nappin piece, Jurby 14, a very rude form, matched however by one on the rocky islet of Ardoileán, off Galway.¹ At Clonmacnois, a similar one, enclosed in a panel, as in the present case, has the addition of a central diamond.

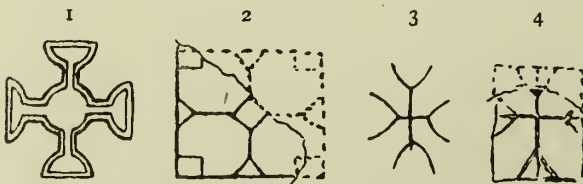


FIG. 10.—FORMS OF CROSS DERIVED FROM CLONMACNOIS TYPE, WITH SEMI-CIRCULAR TERMINATIONS TO THE LIMBS.

(1, 2) Clonmacnois; (3) Ardoileán; (4) Jurby 14.

The early Maughold slab 10, which appears to have been the covering stone of a grave, bears a cross of a type found in Wales, Cornwall, and Ireland, sometimes accompanied by Ogams—shafted, with a circle round the upper limbs (fig. 8, 5).

In the Conchan cross 11 (fig. 8, 6) this has developed into a more perfect and pleasing design, each limb terminating in a crosslet, the upper and the lower one encircled, and the whole contained within an oval. We find the limbs terminating in crosslets on Tigernac's cross, S. Breacan's, Aranmor (Petrie, *Christian Inscriptions*, II., xiii., 27)—a stone which has now disappeared. An incised cross with crosslets is met with also at Balquhiddier,

Scotland, and there are a few instances in Wales, as at Llanmadoc, and in Ireland. The lost piece from Braddan 12, had circlets between the limbs, which on the boulder from Kerrowkiel, Malew 13, become four shallow cup-like depressions. By drawing lines outwards from about the centre of these rings or hollows, parallel with the incised arms of the cross, and connecting their ends, we evolve a form like that of the "Celtic Cross" (fig. 9). I do not, however, suggest that it originated in this way, believing that it was developed from the Chi-Rho symbol, as described by Mr. Romilly Allen. Sometimes a rectangular panel takes the place of the circle or "glory" with which generally the cross is surrounded. Of this we have an instance in the Nappin piece, Jurby 14, a very rude form, matched however by one on the rocky islet of Ardoileán, off Galway.¹ At Clonmacnois, a similar one, enclosed in a panel, as in the present case, has the addition of a central diamond. Again, the centre may be square or circular, and the triangular terminations to the limbs semi-circular, with the flat sides facing outwards; this, indeed, appears to be the typical form (fig. 10). It is remarkable that this type, which at Clonmacnois occurs oftener than any other, is not represented in the Isle of Man, the nearest approach to it being at Maughold, on the Scandinavian Roolwer monument, and then only as regards the extremity of the limbs of the smaller

¹ Since I saw it, this has been figured by R. A. S. Macalister, "Antiquities of Ardoileán," *Journal R.A.S.I.*, September, 1896, part 3, vol. vi., 5th Series.

cross on one face. In one instance however, Balleby, Patrick 24, we find a development of this type in the form of five squares.

This leads to sub-division (c) in which the cross appears in outline (fig. 11).

In the walls of Peel Cathedral are two very primitive forms of the cross patee, German 15-16, one contained in a rectangular panel, the other a Tau-shaped cross with triangular handle—*crux ansata*. A better drawn shafted cross 17, with slightly expanding limbs, angular at the points of intersection, was met with during the extensive repairs at Maughold. It may be matched by one at Daltallachan, Kirkcudbrightshire (*Early Christian Times*, Second Series, p. 91).

The form with expanded limbs was elsewhere in earlier use than that with straight arms, and probably was so here in the outline crosses; the latter must, however, have been introduced at a very early date. We have an example at Corna, Maughold 18 (fig. 11, 3), showing a plain cross, equal-limbed and right-angled at the intersections, with small circlets in the spaces between the limbs. A slab at Peel 19 shows advance in design and more skilled work in a highly-finished Latin cross which has been made with a "punch" or square-pointed chisel; not only has it the circles between the limbs, but the lines which form the head themselves terminate in circles. These are doubtless derived from the spiral terminations such as we find on Colman's cross, Clonmacnois, the only one I know of with the open top as in our example, which may be that of one of the Abbots whose deaths are recorded 661, 664, and 681.¹ Of this spiral design, common in the North of Italy, and met with also in the Catacombs of Rome, the first example in Ireland dated with certainty from the inscription is at Kilnasaggart, A.D. 716, and we may regard that at Peel as probably about the end of the seventh century. The pure Latin form, whether incised or in relief, is rare on early sepulchral monuments; incised we find it at Roseneath and Alyth, and in relief at Abercromby and Govan.²

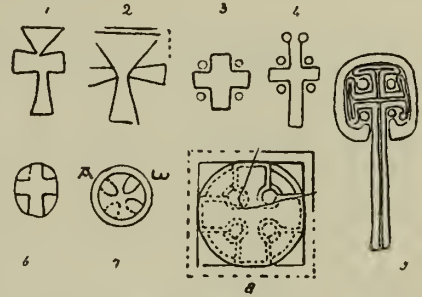


FIG. 11.—EARLY FORMS OF CROSSES
INCISED IN OUTLINE.

(1, 2, 4) Peel; (3, 6, 7, 8) Maughold;
(5) Marown.

At Maughold Church is a cross 20, similar in form to that at Corna, but contained within a circle or oval ring—it, and the Lonan piece 9, are our only instances among these early incised stones of carving on both faces. It is at Maughold also that we have found a type, rare in Scotland, but in Ireland perhaps one of the oldest—namely, a cross formed by the intersection or, rather, junction, of four arcs of circles, and contained within a ring, all the circles being of the same diameter, 21.³ Upon this fragment, above the circle to the right, we find the Omega, which must have been balanced by the Alpha on the left. This symbol, of which we have but a solitary example, is met with in Gaul on monuments dated from 337 to 547. In Britain it occurs twice at Hartlepool, in crosses of the seventh and eighth centuries; once at Billingham, Durham; twice in Pembrokeshire at Penarthur; and at St. Edrens, on a cross of similar form. Once it is found in Ireland together with IH and xPS on the tombstone of "Bressal," Glendalough, Wicklow; also, with the "Chrisma" or Chi-Rho symbol, on the stone at Kirkmadrine,

¹ Petrie, *Christian Inscriptions*, I. ii. 6. ² *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, figs. 304, 361, 473, 493, and 500.

³ In this case, however (fig. 11, 7), the circles approach closely, but do not actually join.

Wigtown, which may be of the sixth or seventh century (*Christian Symbolism*, pp. 116-118). See fig. 7.

In April, 1906, we discovered a slab at Marown, 22, which bears an extreme form of cross-patee, in which the terminations to the upper limbs are so compressed as to form T-shaped ends. It is shafted, and the head encircled.

We have at Maughold 23 our first example of a cross of the typical "Celtic" form; whether shafted or equal-limbed the stone is too fragmentary to determine. The limbs are connected by a broad circle, and the whole is contained within a rectangular panel. In Ireland this form came into general use in the eighth century, and we find many within panels belonging to the eighth and ninth centuries at Clonmacnois (Petrie, *Christian Inscriptions*, x., xi., etc.).

Another equally Celtic form of cross is that consisting of five squares, one in the centre and one for each limb, connected by narrow bands. This is a variation of the type with square centres but semi-circular terminations to the limbs, such as that at Iona (Petrie, *Christian Inscriptions*, ii., lxiii.; *Early Christian Monuments*, figs. 401, 405). It occurs at St. Andrews and Inchbrayoc, and with shaft is not uncommon in Scotland, especially in Perth and Forfarshire, as at Kingoldrum, Kirriemuir, Monifieth, Dunfallandy, Abercrombie, and Meigle.¹ It occurs in Wales, and is met with at Clonmacnois as early as the eighth or ninth century (Petrie, *Christian Inscriptions*, ix., xxvii., 67; xxxvii., etc.). The large slab at Ballelby, Patrick 24, bears an incised cross of this design, differing however from all other examples in respect of the squares being detached, their connection being only suggested (fig. 12).

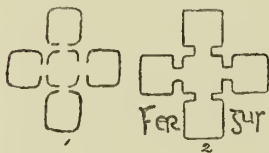


FIG. 12.—CELTIC FORM OF CROSS CONSISTING OF FIVE SQUARES.

- (1) Ballelby, Patrick;
- (2) Clonmacnois.

Our few decorated incised pieces are all from Maughold. An interesting one, 25, shows remains of an inscription in Anglian Runes, of the seventh to ninth centuries. Within a circle is a cross, formed as in 21, each limb occupied by a triquetra in double finely-incised lines. This design may be formed by the intersecting lines of three overlapping circles, its proportions depending upon the amount of overlapping, or by a single ring folded on



FIG. 13.—TRIQUETRA.

A design formed by three circles, each overlapping the other two; or, from a three-cord plait, with horizontal breaks at every other crossing point in one row.

itself so as to present three external points; or it may be regarded as a knot derived from interlacing (fig. 13). It appears in Byzantine art, and was an early design in Anglian and Celtic work, becoming a dominant one in the decorative art of the tenth century. In the Book of Kells, eighth century, we meet with it as a simple knot, also continuous in a design of six confined within a circle. See the word "QUONIAM" on the first page of St. Luke's Gospel. It occurs on the Anglian Frank's casket, 700-800, and in the Psalter of King Athelstan, 703; frequently also on metal work of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The earliest instance on stone is in the form of the "Stafford knot," with two ends loose, on the Collingham cross, if we accept Professor Stephen's date for that piece, 651 (*O. N. Runic Monuments*, i., 391); the next on the eighth century

¹ *Early Christian Monuments*, figs. 374, 378, and 235; 238, 239, 241, 305, 363, 311, 314.

Irton cross, Lancashire, both of these being Anglian. It occurs singly on a cross shaft at St. Andrews (Stuart, *Sculp. Stones*, ii., ix.). In Wales we meet with it on the handsome monument at Llantwit, supposed to have been erected in the ninth century by Howel ap Rhys to his father; on many others also of later date, either singly or in knot-work. In Ireland it appears at Clonmacnois on stones dating from 860 to 991.

Three other of these early incised pieces are decorated, having designs of Hexafoil, which in the first instance may have been suggested by a combination of the Chi, Rho and Iota, and so be considered as another form of cross evolved from a symbol (fig. 14). The first, 26, has a

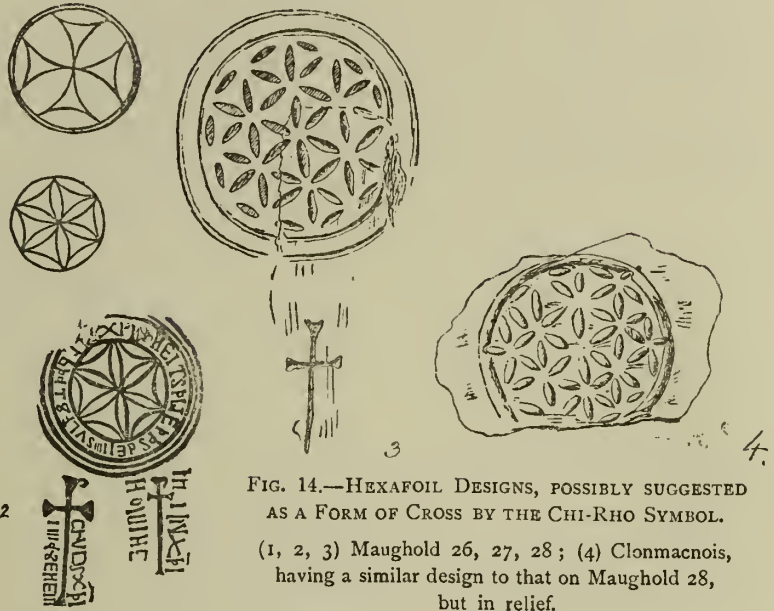


FIG. 14.—HEXAFOIL DESIGNS, POSSIBLY SUGGESTED AS A FORM OF CROSS BY THE CHI-RHO SYMBOL.

(1, 2, 3) Maughold 26, 27, 28; (4) Clonmacnois, having a similar design to that on Maughold 28, but in relief.

cross of similar form to that with the Anglian runes, Maughold 25, below which, within a smaller circle, is a simple incised Hexafoil. The next, 27, which bears an inscription in Hiberno-Saxon characters, has a deeply-outlined Hexafoil within a flat circle, in the position, be it observed, usually occupied by the Celtic or some other form of cross. A further development occurs on 28, consisting of a series of seven Hexafoils within a circle, not merely in outline, but sunken. Once elsewhere I have met with an exactly similar design—namely, at Clonmacnois, where in 1895 I turned up a broken slab not hitherto figured or described, a difference, however, being that in the latter case the Hexafoils and circle are in relief, which may indicate later work. The Hexafoil alone appears on a Roman stone from Battle, Brecknockshire (*Lap. Wall.* 42, 3), which may be of the end of the first or the beginning of the second century. We find it in Celtic MSS., as in the Book of Deer, ninth century, where it is enclosed in a circle in the centre of the page. It is rare on stone: at Millport, Bute, we find it sunk and enclosed within a circle, decorated also with a fine border line;¹ and at Cladh a Bhile, Argyll, with a cross patee below—exactly the reverse of our Maughold 26.² The Maughold piece 28 has below the circle a dagger-shaped cross, and a comparison with the inscribed one, 27, suggests not only that this may have been balanced by another now broken off, but that it may be just one stage further in the development of the cross from the symbol!—for in 27 (fig. 14, 2) we clearly trace the flourish which represents the disappearing loop of the Rho. The example at Whithorn³ may be of the latter part of the sixth century; at Kirkmadrine (see fig. 7) we have three instances very similar to those now found at Maughold, which the inscription on 27 shows belong to the seventh or eighth century.

¹ Stuart, *Sculp. Stones*, II., lxxiv.

Early Christian Monuments, fig. 418.

³ Stuart, *Sculp. Stones*, II., lxxi., lxxvii.

INTERMEDIATE AA.—SUNK WORK

The inscribed stone from Santon 34, bears no figure or decorative design, but the inscription in Roman characters, mixed Majuscules, Minuscules, and Uncials, connects it with a class of pillars common in Wales earlier than the seventh century. The space containing the inscription is sunk, and the surface dressed smooth.

This sinking of part of the design or of the background marks an intermediate stage between the incised outline crosses and those sculptured in relief; curiously enough they all, except the Santon one, occur at the Parish Church, Maughold.

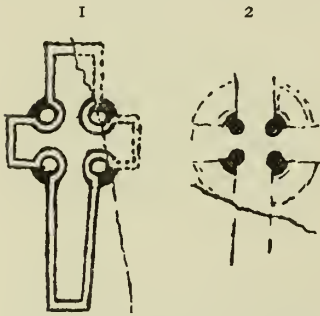


FIG. 15.—CROSSES SHOWING SUNK WORK, MAUGHOLD.

(1) Celtic type with sunk circle and flat bosses at the junction of the limbs; (2) Celtic type without the bosses, the spaces between circle and limbs having a thistle-head form.

Number 29 shows a shafted cross of typical Celtic form, except that the head is unusually heavy in proportion to the shaft, outlined by two incised lines about an inch apart. Between the limbs the outer of these lines is broadened so as to form the four arcs of a sunken circle connecting them. The spaces between this and the recesses of the limbs, not having been cut away, give the appearance of flat bosses (fig. 15).

Another fragment, 30, has borne a Celtic cross; very slight trace remains of a connecting circle between which and the limbs the recessed spaces are sunk. This may be compared with a stone at St. Andrews (Stuart, *Sculp. Stones*, ii.).

A broken cross, 31, shows traces of an incised line with flat circle connecting the limbs, between which the spaces are sunk. From Ard Coilleen, Dhoon, is a similar cross, 32, with sunk spaces between the limbs and circle, a different outline being presented, however, by the square ends of the limbs starting a short distance before intersecting the circle, so that the sunk spaces resemble thistle-heads (fig. 15). This form we find at Clonmacnois so early as 720 (Petrie, *Christian Inscriptions*, i., iv.). The last of this type of partly-sunken work is one from Ballaglass, Maughold 33, which, like that at Peel 19, has been worked with a punch or square chisel.

DIVISION 2—IN RELIEF

(a) UNDECORATED

We now come to pieces which show a great advance on the above in that they are sculptured in relief. The stone is generally surface-dressed, though to a very slight degree; in one or two instances we meet with raised borders to the slabs, the shape of which is more or less rectangular, in four cases wheel-headed.

Division 2, those sculptured in low relief, sub-divides into (a) undecorated, of which there are few; and (b) decorated, which exhibit Celtic designs common to such monuments in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, consisting of (i.) Geometrical and (ii.) Zoomorphic patterns, and (iii.) Figures of Men and Animals treated as decoration or forming pictorial representations.

At Santon we have in 35 a solitary instance of a plain Latin cross without circle, the shaft very slightly expanding. This form, a favourite in Cornwall, is rare elsewhere. In Ireland it only occurs, I think, at Clonmacnois (incised outline) on four stones (Petrie, *Christian*

Inscriptions, 44, 59, 60, and 160), and on one at Lismore, 43. In Scotland we meet with it in relief at Old Deer, Govan, Balquhider, Alyth, Abercromby, Roseneath, and Soroby.¹ The earliest dated example of the form appears to be about 884. In Cornwall are half-a-dozen rectangular slabs similar to our Santon one, as at Tregurnow Down, St. Buryan; there are also many high wheel-crosses with the same design. We have at Braddan 36 a Latin cross, but with expanding limbs, connected by a circle beyond which the head projects. The circle was bordered by a fine incised line. No. 37, also at Braddan, shows a cross patee within a circle, the shaft extended beyond; in the centre is a small incised circlet. At Maughold, 38 shows on each face of the slab a cross of typical Irish form. The flat bead border is very distinct, also the incised ring in the centre. At one time I thought it had been decorated with plait work too worn to decipher, but from a closer and more careful scrutiny I now think that it never was decorated.

All the above are on rectangular slabs. At Maughold we have, in 39, a wheel-cross, a common form in South Wales and in Cornwall, which occurs also on half-a-dozen stones in Wigtownshire. It bears a plain cross with expanding limbs on a broad flat circle, below which is a rectangular panel bordered by a double bead. The other face has a similar circle and panel, but no cross. This brings us to a class of early monuments at Lonan Old Church, Groudle, so closely resembling one another as to make it likely that most of them were carved by one hand. All are wheel-headed, and differ from our other crosses in having two circles, one connecting the outer ends of the limbs and a narrower one at the inner corners of the square ends. Thus 40, a small piece of clay-slate, shows an equal-limbed cross bordered by a narrow bead, the circle connecting the outer ends of the limbs having similar borders, of which the outer one encloses the limbs, the inner angles of their square ends being connected by a narrower circle. An incised line suggests the continuation of the shaft; the sides of the slab are bordered by incised lines. The workmanship of the next, 41, is affected by the harder material, Silurian grit; it bears a similar cross and circles, the centre occupied by a small boss sunk in a socket. The cross, which has a bead border, is unfortunately broken, so that one cannot say whether it was equal-limbed or shafted, probably the latter; the head is roughly rounded, but may have been intended for a wheel-cross.

No. 42 is a good instance of such a cross, having the shaft terminating in a base or pedestal. The form with pedestal is unusual. We meet with it in three tenth century slabs at Scatterry, Iniscathra, Galway (Petrie, *Christian Inscriptions*, ii., pl. xxvii., 57, 58, 59). In Scotland are only three or four examples.

(b) DECORATED

Intermediate between the plain pieces referred to and those showing more decorative art are a few, possibly of earlier date than some already described, which have a very simple decoration in the form of circles, cups, crosslets, pellets, or bosses.

At Kirk Bride is a sandstone cross 44, of which the stone itself is cruciform in outline. The head, now lost, appears to have had an incised ring in each limb, connected by double lines, and from the lower ring lines radiated to the sides. A sandstone pillar similar to this in outline is at Llanmadoc, Gower (*Lap. Wall.*, p. 238, pl. 101, 2). Cruciform stones are met with at Dull, Perthshire and Bute (Stuart, *Sculp. Stones*, ii., 17, 74; *Early Christian Monuments*, fig. 432). A very primitive-looking stone at Maughold 45, also cruciform in

¹ Stuart, *Sculp. Stones*, i., 11, 123, 124, 137; ii., 48, 68. *Early Christian Monuments*, figs. 304, 361, 473, 493, 496, 500.

outline, has a large central boss, and about the middle of the shaft a raised wavy band, between which and a band lower down formed by two incised lines are five cup-like depressions in a row, reminding one rather of Cornish crosses, on which the use of cup-hollows is not infrequent in decoration. In some cases we find panels on the cross so ornamented, as at Lanivet¹ and Penzance, and one from Truro, now at Eastbourne, Sussex. A small cross at Budock, near Falmouth, has a design of five set in the form of a cross. In Scotland, one from Eilean Mor, Argyll, shows a set of three cups in a triangle above each arm of an incised cross, and from Sinniness, Wigtown, an early slab shows two such sets above each arm of the cross.² A stone from Pen-y-Mynnid, now lost, figured in Gough's *Camden*, ii., 14, 4 (also *Lap. Wall.*, 39, 5), shows little circles arranged in triangles.

The Peel slab 46 is ornamented with five incised linear crosslets, which are probably marks of consecration, if indeed this has been an altar-slab. An upright stone at Bradda, in Rushen 47, the cross on which shows the Celtic hollow recesses at the junction of the limbs, had probably an outline circle surrounding or connecting them, but if so it is now completely worn away. A small crosslet is incised on each limb. Similar crosslets are to be seen on early Welsh pieces at Llanfihangel ar Arth and Bryngwyn (*Lap. Wall.*, 48, 2, 73, 2). In Scotland two early pillar-stones at Laggangarn, Wigtown, have four such crosslets surrounding the main cross (*Early Christian Monuments*, p. 502).

The Guriat stone 48 from Port-y-Vullen, Maughold, has a pedestal cross, ornamented by large bosses, one in the centre and one at the intersection of each limb with the circle, each boss surrounded by a bead moulding, with which, also, shaft and pedestal are bordered. The short Latin inscription shows the date to be about early ninth century. The use of bosses is general, perhaps more so on the Scottish monuments than elsewhere. Sometimes the cross is covered with them, as at Shandwick (Stuart, *Sculp. Stones*, i., 27); or we find them on both cross and circle, as at Meigle; or in panels, as on the high cross at Kells. A central boss is not uncommon, and sometimes we find them arranged, as in the present instance, e.g., at Clonmacnois, Kilkispeen, and Iona. Its use may have been in part suggested by metal work—thus, the shrine of St. Patrick's Bell, the processional cross of Cong, and many cumdachs or early book-shrines, like that of St. Molase's Gospels;³ for though these are later than some of the stone monuments, the same ornamental idea had doubtless obtained in earlier relics now destroyed or lost. In the Port-y-Vullen instance [the limbs of the cross are not actually represented. A similar effect to this occurs on an early cross with Pictish symbols at Aberlemno, Forfarshire (Stuart, *Sculp. Stones*, i., 81), but in that case the circle is crossed by square rings, with round bosses between them.

The Glion Ruy slab, Lonan 49, like all others from that district, is a wheel-cross. The stone itself is bordered by a double bead, which surrounds the head of the cross and circle; the cross also has a bead border terminating in volutes, one of which, evidently by accident on the part of the stone-cutter, has taken the form of concentric circles. Between these volutes are triangular designs of pellets. Involved spirals or volutes like this are not common; we meet with them on a slab at Clonmacnois,⁵ dated about 870, and two others (Petrie, *Christian Inscriptions*, 58, 166, xx., xxiii., and xlii.); also on two stones at St. Dogmaels, Pembrokeshire

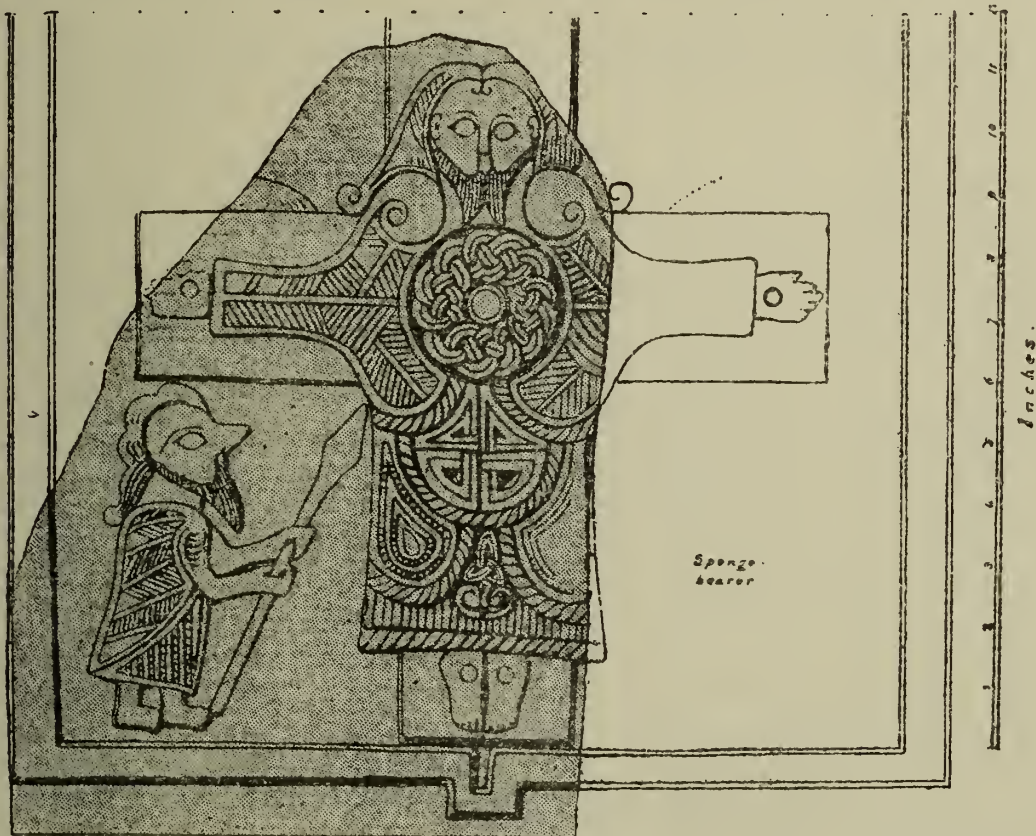
¹ Langdon, *Cornish Crosses*, pp. 295, 308, 304, 245.

² *Early Christian Monuments*, iii., 402, 504.

³ *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, Margaret Stokes, part i., pp. 60, 93.

(*Lap. Wall.*, pl. 61, 1, 2). In a small sunk panel on the shaft of this cross is a figure which I take to be a Ladle, here used as a symbol of the priestly office, just as at a later date the chalice.

Before dealing with the other more highly-decorated Celtic pieces, I mention here the Crucifix found in the ruins of a Keeil on the Calf of Man 50, which differs in character and design from any other monument found here or elsewhere. It is a unique example of the Byzantine treatment of this subject on stone, and the only other object with which it can be compared is the bronze found at Clonmacnois, now in the Dublin Museum,¹ regarded by Petrie as belonging probably to the ninth century.² The less conventional and generally more archaic



From Drawing by]

FIG. 16.—CALF OF MAN CRUCIFIX.

[Sir H. Dryden.

treatment of our Manx example shows it to be of earlier date. The form of cross, it will be observed, is Latin, no representation of this subject having been found on a cross of Celtic form—a circumstance inclining to support the view of the derivation of the latter from the sacred symbol. It is worthy of note that the feet of the Christ are exactly as represented in the Book of Kells, which probably dates from the eighth century. Two favourite Celtic designs appear upon the robes—the Triquetra Knot and the Four-fold Ring—both of which, however, are derived from Byzantine art.

¹ Stuart, *Sculp. Stones*, vol. ii., plate 10; *Christian Symbolism*, fig. 32.

² There are also two smaller bronze plates in the Museum.—*Christian Symbolism*, p. 146.

I refer later to the earliest example of the Crucifixion in MS. in the sixth century copy of the Gospels now in Florence, and quote Mr. Romilly Allen's lucid description of the development of its treatment from Byzantine sources to the present time. The only explanation of its appearance in this little Keeil, in the out-of-the-way Calf of Man, is that the artist must have been familiar with this early mode through some illuminated MS., while the slight use of Celtic designs points to the fact that he was acquainted also with Irish or Celtic art.

To judge from their treatment and appearance, the pieces to which I have previously referred must all be earlier than the tenth century. We now come to some which exhibit (i.) geometrical designs, (ii.) zoomorphic interlacings, and (iii.) figure subjects. Though scarcely possible to assign an exact date to any one of these pieces, it is evident that they constitute a series carrying us on to and possibly even overlapping the early period of Scandinavian monuments in the Island—that is to say, about the middle of the eleventh century.

(i.) *Geometrical*

An exceptional piece, possibly one of the earliest which exhibits geometrical designs in relief, is the wheel-cross from Ballafayle, Maughold 51. As it bears also a figure-subject, I should in strictness deal with it later on; but as I think that in chronological sequence it comes before several other pieces not having figures, I prefer to regard it as exceptional in that respect. One face bears a cross patee within a circle, the limbs formed by knotwork and set at angles instead of having the curved recess of the Celtic cross. Two of the knots are what I call double triquetras—that is to say, if separated and the connecting bands of each closed, each would make a perfect triquetra. One arm is occupied by a plait of five, and the lower limb, which alone has a border, by a curious design of two diagonal bands crossing each other in the centre and the borders at the corners, the five points of crossing and overlapping marked by rings interlaced with the bands. A precisely similar design occurs on a cross bearing an inscription in Anglian runes at Chester-le-Street, N. Durham, dated 700 to 800 (Stephen, *O.N. Runic Mon.*, iii., 461). I have seen nothing like it elsewhere. The curious figure on the fust or pillar, with limbs partially outstretched, must be intended for a representation of Christ, though not upon the Cross.

A small panel cross, Maughold 52, has the intersection of the limbs at an angle like the last. The circle connecting the limbs bears a plait-of-four, as does also the rectangular border to the stone. The earliest dated plait ornament at Clonmacnois is 984, on a stone bearing the name Muirgus (Petrie, *Pl. li.*, fig. 128). It occurs on Anglian pieces of an earlier date derived, not from Ireland, but direct from Northern Italy.

The limbs of the cross have a design of two diagonal oval rings interlaced, the upper one showing an irregularity in the drawing, possibly intentional. The shaft, also, below the diagonal rings, has borne another design too worn to decipher with certainty; possibly it consisted of two such rings interlaced with a square or diamond-shaped one. The interlaced diagonal ring device is not common. The design, numbered 766 in Mr. Romilly Allen's *Analysis*,¹ occurs on five stones in Scotland, nine in England, and six in Wales.² The sunken space in the form of a cross with pointed ends, outlined by the decorative designs on this stone, is a peculiarity I have not met with elsewhere. Mr. Romilly Allen gives an

¹ *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, part ii., p. 297.

² Westwood, *Lap. Wall.*, pl. 3, 4, 43, and 57.

example of the ten-cord plait with cruciform space left by the plait at St. Andrew's, Stone Grove, Yorks., and in MS. at Petersburg.

In the solitary fragment yet found at Lezayre 53, the outline of the stone has been shaped to the circle and the slightly projecting limbs. One cannot say whether the cross was shafted or equal-limbed. The four-fold ring on the central boss of one face we have already seen on the Calf of Man Crucifix. This design of a Ring folded on itself with four exterior loops, the precise form of which depends upon the space to be occupied, is not infrequent in Celtic art, as on the Killamery cross, O'Neil (pl. i.), Skinnet, and Meigle, in Scotland (Stuart, *Sculp. Stones*, i., 73, Analysis No. 777). The ringed figure-of-eight which appears to have been the design on the head, is a device originating like the last from a Byzantine source; one of the limbs shows the Double Triquetra design, and the centre a similar device formed of one continuous double band (Analysis No. 733, 781). See also a cross from Clonmacnois, A.D. 991.

A very worn slab at Maughold 54 gives a single instance of a new variety in the form of cross—a square-shaped central ring, which has been ornamented with plait-work, doubling the recessed arcs between the limbs in cusped hollows, thus presenting an outline met with in an early cross with Pictish symbols at Ulbster, Caithness. The surrounding circle, of which only the left-hand upper quarter remains, was merely outlined by incised lines, reminding one of the Guriat cross at Port-y-Vullen, little more than a mile away, like which also the shaft terminates in a square pedestal. The slab itself has a narrow plain bead border.

At Maughold also we have in 55 a solitary instance of yet another form—that of two circles connected by one shafted cross, the smaller one containing an equal-limbed cross. The smaller cross and circle, though much worn, show evident traces of plait-work. A similar form occurs once in Wales at Llanspyddydd (*Lap. Wall.*, 39, 4, p. 71), namely, the cross popularly known as that of Brychan Brycheiniog, to whose reputed son, St. Cadog, the church is dedicated. Cutts figures one found at Cambridge Castle, with interlacing, which he dates beginning of the eleventh century, and another which shows cross patee within sunk circles connected by a single shaft.¹

The round or intended wheel-headed Braddan Stile cross 56, our first instance of one with the spaces between the limbs pierced, is not easy to place satisfactorily, but seems to fall in here, perhaps, better than elsewhere. The circle which crosses over the limbs is ornamented with a twist, the points of crossing being emphasized by circular rings. This twist-and-ring design is not uncommon in Celtic work, being derived possibly from a looped twist. At Llantwit it adorns the edge of a stone dating from about the middle of the ninth century (*Lap. Wall.*, 7). Mr. Romilly Allen (Analysis No. 574) derives it from a four-cord plait, and names twenty-four instances in Scotland, nineteen in England, of which six are in Cornwall, three instances in Wales, and one in Ireland.

The design on the limbs appears to be a badly-drawn knot or ring, so folded on itself with external loops, meeting in the centre, as to present the form of two figures eight crossing at right angles.

The loop-form of plait, contained within a panel below, is similar to that on a stone at Aspatria, Cumberland. The only other example like this is at Forres, and as the cords from the

¹ *Manual for the Study of Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses* (Rev. E. L. Cutts, B.A.), pl. xxxiv. and xxxv.

loops in the right-hand row make a very ugly curve backwards in order to join on to those in the left-hand row, and the pattern can never be made a good one from a decorative point of view, Mr. Romilly Allen (Analysis No. 657) thinks that "its presence would seem to indicate inferior skill in designing interlaced work, probably at a time when the style was becoming more or less degraded." Not only does the upper right-hand corner loop in our example give place to a ring, but halfway down on the same side we find the middle loop becomes a ring, evidently by a slip of the chisel, incidentally showing how easily a loop or spiral is converted into a ring, and supporting the view that the twist-and-ring design may have so originated from a looped twist (fig. 17, 4).

There is a free use of pellets to fill in spaces; the execution throughout is faulty; and it seems not unlikely that the monument may really have been carved by a Scandinavian sculptor working on unfamiliar Celtic models. But as there is no certain proof of this, I feel compelled to find a place for it here. The early form of incised cross on the other face of the stone is not of itself sufficient indication of the period.

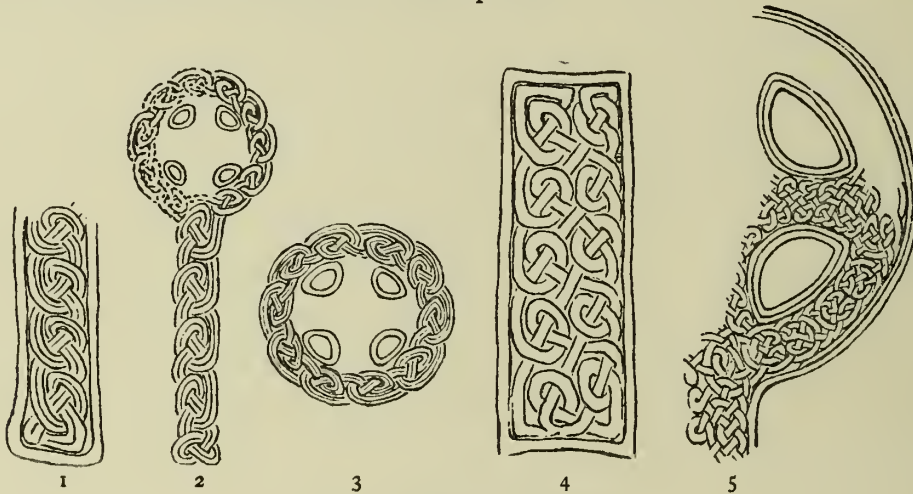


FIG. 17.—FORMS OF LOOP-PLAIT.

(1, 2) Maughold 65, 66; (3) Michael 64; (4) Braddan 56; (5) Conchan 63.

In respect of its faulty execution, this Braddan stone is matched by the large wheel cross at Lonan Old Church, Groudle 57, which is closely covered with plait-work, badly drawn, with many short straps, loose ends, and irregular overlappings. The circles connecting the limbs show twist, plait-of-three, and plait-of-four. Across the fust also are four bands of plaits-of-three and of four. The sunk spaces between the circles are occupied by diagonal rings, interlaced.

In the wheel cross from Maughold, now at Malew 58, we have an elaboration of the twist-and-ring design. In this case two parallel bands cross at regular intervals two other parallel bands interlacing with each other, and with a diamond-shaped ring, at the points of crossing. In the Isle of Man this becomes a favourite design later on Scandinavian pieces. A near approach to it occurs at Drainie, Elgin, where two parallel double bands cross two others, interlacing with two rings, which, however, are circular, not diamond-shaped (Stuart, *Sculp. Stones*, i. 130; Analysis No. 576). Mr. Romilly Allen mentions instances of this from Durham Cathedral and

Hope, Derbyshire. On an early piece at Rothesay, Bute, we have the two parallel bands in a twist, but without the ring (Stuart, *Sculp. Stones*, ii. 72). Varieties and elaborations of the design occur in Celtic MSS.—*e.g.*, in the Book of Durrow, seventh century, we find it in a border to the frontispiece to the Epistle of Jerome, the position of the diamond ring being taken by four loops in the centre.

The possible evolution of our Manx form may be traced on the broken shaft of a cross from St. Oswald's, Durham. The two faces show the design of double twist interlacing within treble circular rings. On one edge the rings become diamond-shaped and their points are connected by a middle band, the outer bands being elongated between the rings; on the other edge the rings are detached as in our examples, the middle band being represented by oblong pellets. Or, this form might be derived from a six-cord plait, the outer cord breaking at intervals and closing in to make the diamond-shaped rings, the others running in parallel pairs, and being more or less elongated and flattened between each ring, within which they cross and interplait. The pellets at the sides in the Conchan slab, 59, may be considered as survivals of this continuous outer cord (fig. 18).



FIG. 18.—EVOLUTION OF DOUBLE TWIST-AND-RING DESIGN.

(1, 2, 3) Face and Edges of Cross Shaft from St. Oswald's, Durham; (4) Conchan 59; (5) Maughold 58.

We have another instance of this design on the large rectangular slab at Conchan 59, which has a shafted cross and expanding limbs overlaid by the surrounding circle. The curious interlacing of the narrow band crossing the limbs and under and over the circle, forming a heart-shaped design of double loops, is very striking. A stone at Bressay has a somewhat similar band of single loops, but no circle; otherwise I know of nothing resembling it. The other face of this has a figure-of-eight plait formed by a continuous triple band starting from the left-hand corner below the circle, supplemented by a similar band from the right-hand corner, and an odd piece from the right of the upper bow of the "eight." We meet with various combinations of loops showing a figure eight (Analysis No. 559-572), which, as Mr. Romilly Allen points out, may be derived for the most part from eight-cord plaits. The present instance is peculiar in respect of the extra bands.

The crosses on both faces of this stone are ornamented with plain flat bosses, a large one in the centre, and four smaller in the spaces between the limbs, outside the circle.

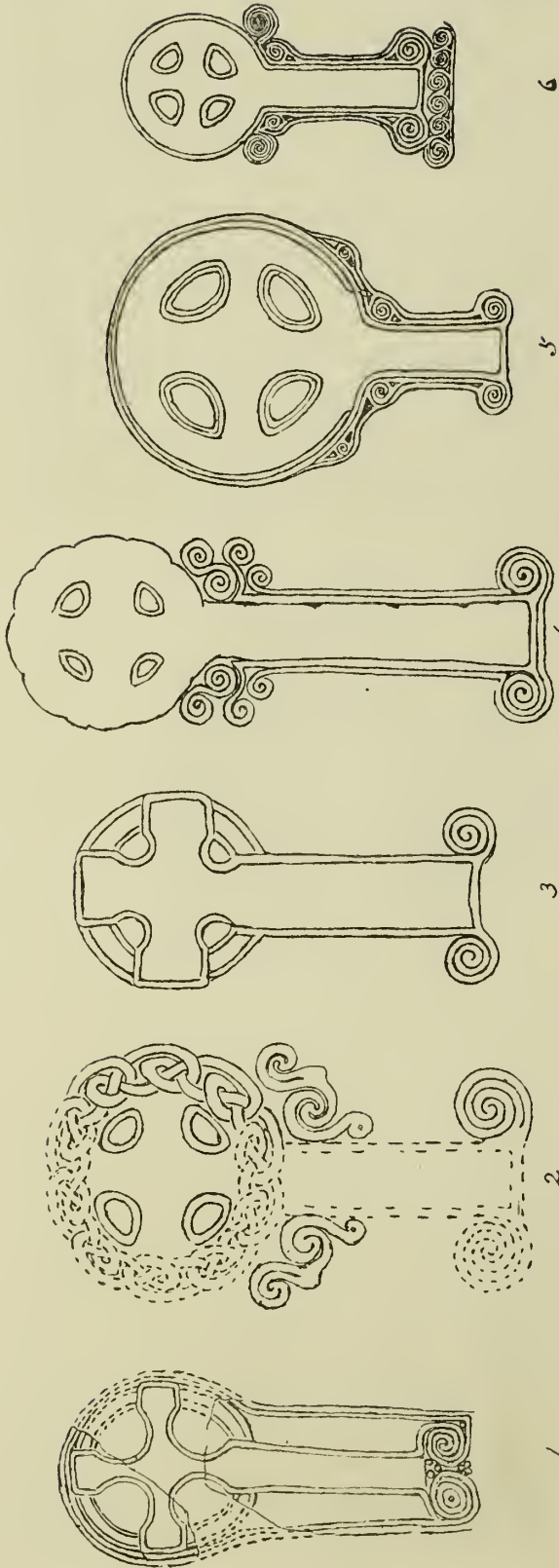


FIG. 19.—PRE-SCANDINAVIAN CROSSES HAVING SHAFTS DECORATED WITH VOLUTES AND SPIRALS.

(1) Lonan (involved) 49; (2) Michael 64; (3, 4) Maughold 66; (5, 6) Conchan 62, 63.

(ii.) *Interlaced Designs with Zoomorphic Work*

It is rather curious that in the Manx pre-Scandinavian pieces we have no instances of that zoomorphic interlacing—the lacertine and bird-like figures with elongated top-knots, tongues, tails, and legs interlaced, which we generally associate with Celtic decorative art. Our nearest approach is on a fragment from Cardle, Maughold 60, which shows the lower end of the shaft of a cross with dragon-headed plait-work, between which and the flat borders are double spirals. The plait-work seems to have been elaborate, a good design, and well executed, but the scattered spiral figures detract from the artistic effect. The small cross, Conchan 61, reminds us of the irregularity of the continuous interlacing which covers the large equal-limbed cross, Lonan 57, which is but a mile and a half away. Like that, also, it has the limbs connected by two circles, decorated with plaits-of-four and twist. The bands have been bordered by fine lines. Below the circle, in a sunk panel, are two dog-headed figures, one apparently with a head at either end. Above is the diagonal ring device, faulty in drawing. We note the use of pellets to fill up the spaces.

A round-headed cross at Conchan 62 has borne a fine example of continuous and very regular plait-work covering cross and circle; in the shaft this is divided into panels by “breaks” at irregular intervals. It is by the introduction of such breaks, says Mr. Romilly Allen, that “all the patterns used in Celtic interlaced ornament appear to have been developed out of plait-work.”¹ The

¹ *Early Christian Monuments*, part ii., p. 145.

beads bordering the shaft terminate in volutes, and at the foot is a band of scroll ornament—a solitary instance, the spiral being rare in our district (fig. 19, 6). This band Mr. Romilly Allen describes (Analysis No. 1,043) as “one row of double spirals connected by S-shaped curves, with other curved lines branching on one side from the middle of each S.” A very similar design, but without the branching lines, occurs at Golspie and six other places in Scotland, and at Castle Dermot, Tuam, and Cashel in Ireland. Spiral terminations to the shafts of crosses occur both in Scotland and in Ireland, as at Kilmalkedar and Reask, in Kerry (*Arch. Camb.*, 5th ser., vol. ix., p. 146), and on some ninth century crosses at Clonmacnois (Petrie, *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. i., pls. 14, 20, 23, 42). So also in Scotland at Dunblane, Tullibole, Dyce, Alyth, Gask, St. Vigean's (*Early Christian Monuments*, figs. 330, 375, 206, 304, 307, 278).

Below the scroll-work is a group of four single spirals revolving from left to right, with their diverging bands interlaced in the centre (Analysis No. 1,123), giving the appearance of a Fylfot or spiral-headed Gammadion (fig. 20).




FIG. 20.—FYLFOOT AS A DECORATIVE FORM OF CROSS.

(1, 2) Kenneth Cross, Dearham ; (3) Conchan 62.

The dog-headed monsters supporting the cross at either side of the shaft have their bodies broken up into spirals; from their open jaws long tongues protrude, looping round their forepaws and descending to their feet. The pear-shaped eyes, with the round end towards the nose, are Celtic, as are the spirals and the long lolling tongues which we find in just such dog-headed figures in the Book of Kells and other MSS. The Fylfot reminds us of the less elaborate one on a sixth century stone at Dearham and an early Norse one at Isel, Cumberland. As a decorative form of cross it was early adopted and freely used in Christian art in MSS. and metal work, less frequently on stone.

The large wheel-cross, Conchan 63, may have been carved by the same hand as the last. The interlacing, which is close and compact, save on the shaft, where it is more loose and open, shows a special tendency to loop, and, in the circle, becomes an effective plait, composed of a combination of unsymmetrical loops in pairs, facing inwards, surrounded by extra bands, forming a figure-of-eight knot, which are continued to form in their turn the next enclosed pairs of loops (fig. 17, 5). The breaks thus made in the regular line of the plait leaving small blank spaces at intervals, afford variety and relieve the monotony and stiffness of the pattern. Mr. Romilly Allen (Analysis No. 645A) gives this design as one which may be derived from an eight-cord plait, and names other instances of it at Monasterboice and Glassonby, in Cumberland. As in the last, the beads bordering the shaft here terminate in volutes, and the cross is supported by two dog-headed monsters seated on their haunches.

(iii.) *Interlaced Designs with Figures*

The Bishop's Court stone, Michael 64, which is carved on both faces and edges, shows affinity to the last two. Each face has borne a Celtic cross and circle; the border of the shaft on one face terminates in a double volute, and just below the circle we have a detached -shaped spiral device. The circle gives us another form of loop pattern composed

of two bands which alternately loop and pass through each other, forming a single row of loops, all left-handed and facing upwards (fig. 19, 2). I do not find an instance of this precise form in the Analysis, though Nos. 655 and 656 show it in combination with loops facing the other way, as at Moone Abbey, St. Andrews, and Arthurlee. The circle on the other face has a plait-of-four, and the edge of the slab bears a plait-of-three. The dog-headed monster at the right of the shaft, which no doubt was balanced by a similar one on the other side, has its chin resting on its hands, the fingers outspread, as in Conchan 62. At the foot of the cross we have the well-drawn figure of a hound, and on the other face a warrior on horseback armed with a spear.

The badly weathered and broken stone, for many years a lintel to the east window of Maughold Church 65, shows a different style from any yet dealt with, the abortive spirals and general treatment connecting it with a series in Cumberland considered by Canon Knowles and the Rev. W. S. Calverley, with whom Mr. Collingwood agrees, as Cymric, their art derived from and subsequent to the Anglo-Saxon classic epoch, and dating from about the eighth to the twelfth century. At Aspatria, Distington, and Dearham we find similar workmanship. One face shows remains of the shaft of a cross with a loose form of loop-twist of two bands, alternately forming right-handed loops facing upwards (fig. 17, 1). The nearest approach to this design given in the Analysis is No. 634, from Coddingham, where, however, the loops are in pairs from opposite directions, and No. 655, from Moone Abbey, where the loops are alternately right and left-handed. Below is a panel of Key-fret—a good design, but badly executed, terminating at the top in spirals, and filled in with pellets. The other face shows a beast, evidently intended for a stag, with the antlers treated in a curiously conventional way of which I do not know of another instance—a number of small straight lines projecting diagonally, before and behind, from a straight horn! The four feet and snout of an animal at its back must be meant for a dog. Above is a man with arms akimbo on his breast, holding between his hands a closed book, doubtless a Plenarium or copy of the Gospels, with an equal-limbed Celtic cross on the back of it. By his side is a pastoral staff of early form, and around him, very rudely executed spiral or scroll-work. The appearance of the Staff reminds us that the estate adjoining the church, part of the Barony of St. Bees, is known as “staff-land,” and is freehold, which in the Isle of Man is exceptional. It seems most likely, as pointed out by Mr. Moore in his work on Manx names,¹ that the service on which these lands were held may have been that of the presentation of a staff or crozier, which the proprietors had to produce for the annual processions on the day of the Saint to whom the Church was originally dedicated.²

¹ *Surnames and Place Names of the Isle of Man* (A. W. Moore, M.A., etc.), p. 308.

² Our only other Staff lands were in the Parish of Patrick; they are mentioned in a Papal Bull of 1231 as “*terram de baculo Sti: Patricii.*” Mr. Moore, by way of showing that such tenures were known elsewhere, quotes a grant of lands in the Isle of Lismore with the custody of the Staff of St. Moloc, dated 1544. Similarly other relics, such as bells, books, and shrines, had their hereditary keepers. Thus the Monymusk Shrine, the Brebennoch of St. Columba, one of the sacred relics borne into battle with the host of Alba, had an endowment of lands for its hereditary keepership, and these lands of Forglen with the Brebennoch were bestowed by King William the Lion on the Abbey of Arbroath. In the early part of the fourteenth century the Abbey and Convent of Arbroath gave these lands to Malcolm of Monymusk on condition “that he and they shall perform in our name the service in the King’s army which pertains to the Brebennoch as often as occasion shall arise.”—*Scotland in Early Christian Times* (Joseph Anderson, LL.D., etc.), pp. 241, 250. Our only other figure of a pastoral staff, equally simple in type, occurs on a Scandinavian piece, 72, also at Kirk Maughold.

This Maughold Staff may even have been one of the relics mentioned in the Order for Tynwald in our *Lex Scripta* (about 1417): “The three reliques of Man there to be before you in yo^r presence and three clarkes bearing them in their surplices.”

We have a fine piece of work in the stone recently removed from its position as lintel over the west door of Maughold Church 66. Each face bears cross and circle; one has the shaft bordered by a double bead, ending below in volutes, and above, beneath a double ∞ -shaped spiral, the volute of the inner bead projecting beyond that of the outer. The limbs are occupied by a neat plait-of-four formed of double bands, the shaft having a twist of double bands looping from right to left; this is continued on a reduced scale by a single band round the circle (fig. 17, 2). The edge of the stone has a plait-of-three; on the other face the cross is covered with a plain plait-of-four, bordered by a single bead terminating below in a volute. Facing the shaft is a well-drawn figure of a robed ecclesiastic. Below, we have stags hunted by hounds, and a man on horseback. The first face also shows stags and hounds below, and boar and hounds at the side of the shaft.

The figure drawing on this stone presents some peculiarities: there is again a conventional treatment of the antlers, giving in this case a fan-like appearance quite unlike the last, but differing greatly from the realistic drawing on our later Scandinavian pieces; the curious prominent angle of the lower jaw in all the animals is very marked, but especially so in the case of the hounds. The profile of the ecclesiastic is exceedingly good, and all the figure drawing is very spirited.

Another slab at Maughold 67 has a cross of the Kells type. Cumming shows plait-work on the circle,¹ but I can detect no trace of any ornament on either cross or circle. At either side, facing the shaft, is the figure of a monk, robed and hooded, seated on a chair, apparently without a high back. Below, on each side, is a rider on horseback; below, a boar and some other beast too worn to decipher. The figures are well drawn.

The fragment from Santon 68 has unfortunately lost the lower panel, which appears, from Dr. Oswald's description, to have contained a figure of a man on horseback, with some interlacing, a fragment of which remains.² The upper part shows a cross patee within a circle, the outline of the limbs defined by rounded bead mouldings, with well-drawn triquetra knots occupying the limbs.

SCRIPTURE SUBJECT

The large wheel-cross at Braddan 69 is similar in outline to the Lonan one, Groudle 57, though not so high, the head being of exactly the same diameter. The limbs are decorated with plait-work, involved and loose, but evenly balanced. The circles connecting them also show plaits-of-five, four, three, and six. The spaces between the limbs and circles are occupied by dog-like animal forms, which do not appear to be otherwise than decorative. The upper limb is the most interesting, as it gives a Scripture subject, being intended for a representation of Daniel in the lions' den. This is figured on six of the Irish crosses and on six or eight of the Scottish, the great difference in our example being that Daniel is represented by his head alone.

This subject—a symbol of the Resurrection—occurs very early in the catacombs, the most ancient example being the beautiful sarcophagus from the cemetery of Domitilla, in the Lateran Museum, where I had the pleasure of seeing it in January, 1900. It is well figured in Allard's edition of Northcote and Brownlow's work.³ Daniel appears as a young man, nude,

Arch. Camb. Manx Society, vol. xv., p. 16, fig. 4. ² *Trans. Soc. of Ant. Scot.*, vol. ii., part ii., p. 503; Cumming, fig. 32.

Rome Souterraine (Paul Allard, 12th Ed., Paris), pp. 435-8, pl. xix.

his hands upraised in prayer. On each side, facing him, a lion, open-mouthed, seated on its haunches, small in size to show the superiority of Daniel. On the cross at Moone Abbey there are seven lions, referring to the number given in the Vulgate; at Meigle there are four; and in other respects there are slight differences of treatment, but all can be traced to this common origin.

Two small fragments found at Maughold 70, 71, show plaits-of-four and of three, double-beaded. One evidently belonged to the circle which connected the limbs of a cross; the other may possibly have been part of a similar circle. It is not now possible to say whether they bore figures, but they appear to be late, belonging to the period immediately before the introduction of Scandinavian work (about 1030), if not, indeed, overlapping it.

SUMMARY

Thus it appears that out of a total of one hundred and sixteen of these early Christian monuments in the Isle of Man, seventy-one, or nearly two-thirds, show no certain indication of Scandinavian work.

Of these the earliest are rude unhewn pillars or boulders, four exhibiting no ornamentation, but inscribed in Ogam characters, and in all respects resembling Irish inscribed stones of the fifth century. We have next a series consisting of slabs of local stone, more or less rectangular in outline, with surface undressed, which bear upon one face early forms of cross incised, first, ten, in line merely, later, another ten, in outline, still with no decoration. Of the linear crosses, three are plain Latin in form, four enclosed in circles or oval-shaped rings, one with the upper limbs surmounted by a half-circle, one within a circle but with shaft extending, and one, which is derived from a later type, in a rectangular panel. Of those in outline, two in rectangular panels have widely-expanded limbs, one presenting the appearance of a *crux ansata*. Two Latin crosses have circlets between the limbs, and within an oval ring we have what seems to be intended for an equal-limbed cross; then we come to a typically Celtic cross in a rectangular panel, another Celtic form composed of four arcs of circles contained within a circle, and one derived from a later type taking here the form of four squares around a central one. The most curious form is that found at Marown within the last few weeks (April, 1906), which has the upper limbs expanded and compressed in T-shaped ends.

Four other incised pieces, one having an inscription in Anglian runes and one in Latin in Hiberno-Saxon characters, show the first decorative art on our Manx monuments. On the Anglian stone this takes the form of a triquetra in each of the limbs of the cross, which in this case is composed of four arcs; the three others exhibit hexafoil designs, one having the cross itself so formed, another a diaper of six hexafoils around a central one in a circle. Between these incised pieces and those sculptured in relief are six which show a part of the surface sunk, but otherwise are undressed. One of these has neither cross nor decoration—only an inscription which is in debased Roman capitals, while four show the typical Celtic form of cross, and one the same form, but with the recesses between the limbs thistle-shaped, the cross and circle bordered by fine lines. One of these Celtic crosses is so far decorated as to have flat bosses between the limbs, otherwise they exhibit no ornament.

A further development shows the cross in low relief; seven of these have scarcely any kind of decorative treatment, save plain bead borders; in one case there is a small central boss within a socket, and in two cases a central ring. The stone is rectangular, but in four cases

the head is shaped into a wheel-cross. The cross itself affords in one instance our only example of the pure Latin form in relief; it is entirely undecorated. Three show a cross patee within a circle—one shafted, another with incised lines to indicate a shaft, and one with a panel below which suggests a shaft. The others show the Celtic form of cross, one with pedestal, which is rare.

This brings us to the series of decorated crosses sculptured in relief, consisting of slabs usually rectangular, in two exceptional cases cruciform, in others rounded at the top or shaped into wheel-headed cross slabs; in one instance pierced through between the limbs. The sculpture is in the nature of "flat carving," the slight relief due, no doubt, to the nature of the material, which would not admit of undercutting or high relief.

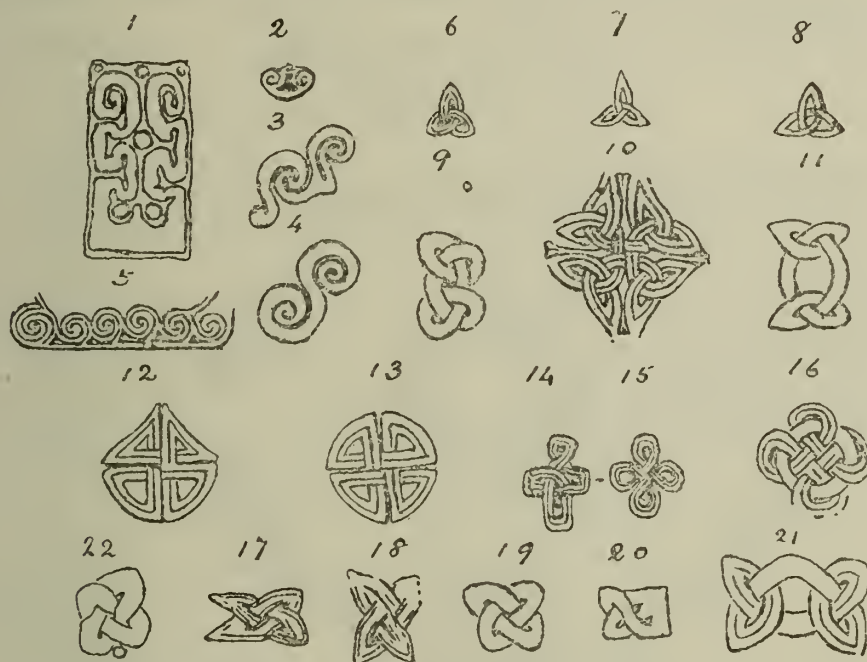


FIG. 21.—GEOMETRICAL DESIGNS ON PRE-SCANDINAVIAN PIECES.

Key-Fret—(1) Maughold 65. Spirals—(2) Rushen 50; (3) Michael 64; (4) Maughold 66; (5) Conchan 62. Triquetras—(6) Rushen 50; (7) Maughold 25; (8) Santon 68; (9, 10) Lezayre 53; (11, 21) Maughold 51. Fourfold Rings—(12) Rushen 50; (13) Lezayre 53; (14) Braddan 56; (15) same, *as intended*; (16) Lezayre 53 (with ring). Diagonal Rings Interlaced—(17, 18) Maughold 52; (19, 22) Lonan 57; (20) Conchan 61.

Of these the decorative ornament consists in the first instance of circles, cups, crosslets, pellets, and bosses; later, we come to geometrical designs and patterns. Besides those mentioned, only three show the use of pellets and two of bosses. In two cases, as stated, the stones are cruciform in outline, one being ornamented with incised rings and lines connecting the limbs, the other with a central boss and a unique design of five small cups in a vertical row. Of the four others which bear no interlaced ornament, three of the stones are rectangular, one having what was intended to represent an equal-limbed cross, angled at the junction of the limbs, and decorated with five crosslets—marks, perhaps, of consecration, as this may have been an altar-stone; one a cross and circle ornamented with five bosses, and terminating in a pedestal; and one a Celtic cross and circle ornamented with crosslets between the limbs.

The last, a wheel cross, has the shaft terminating in volutes with triangular designs of pellets between them, and in a sunk panel on the shaft is the figure of a ladle, probably symbolic of the priestly rank of the man to whose memory it was erected.

The exceptional Calf of Man Crucifix, the stem rectangular with a Latin cross, which has as ornamental designs the triquetra, four-fold ring, double spiral, and an annular ring of figure-of-eight plait, brings us to those which are decorated with geometrical designs (fig. 21).

In this connection we note the total absence of the divergent spiral and of the step pattern, whilst of the key-fret—such an especial favourite both in MS., metal, and stone-work—there

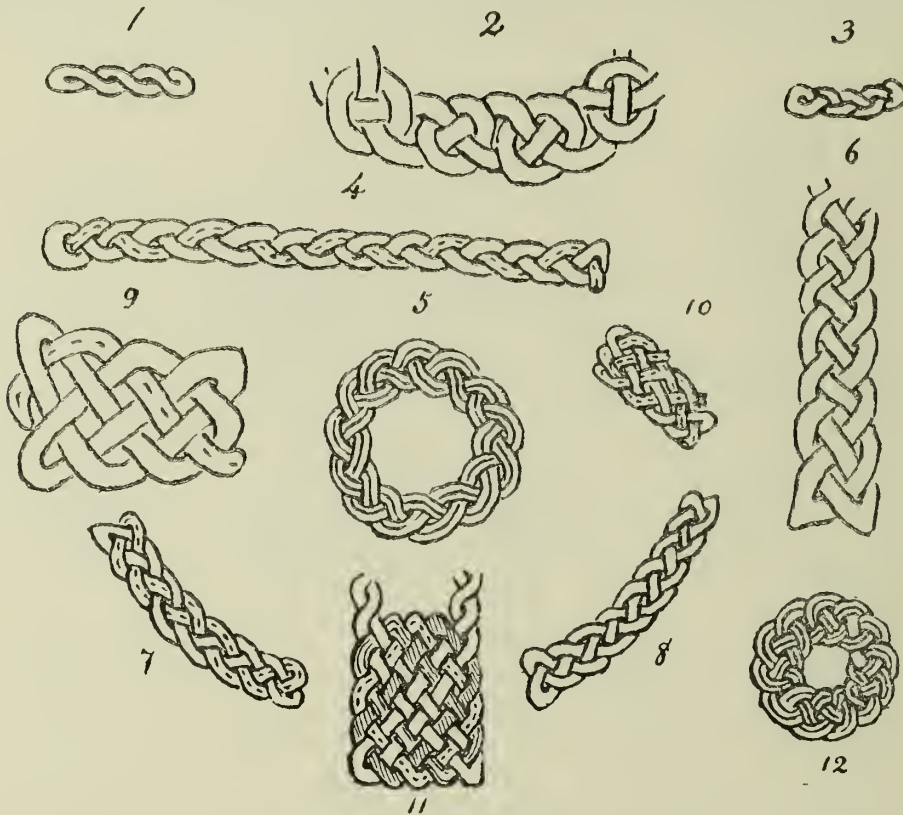


FIG. 22.—PLAITWORK.

Twist—(1) Lonan 57. Twist and Ring—(2) Braddan 56. Plait of Three—(3) Conchan 61 ; (4) Lonan 57 ; (5) Maughold 51. Plait of Four—(6) Maughold 66 ; (7, 8) Conchan 61. Plait of Five—(9) Maughold 51. Plait of Six—(10) Braddan 69. Plait of Ten—(11) Conchan 62. Figure-of-Eight Plait—(12) Rushen 50.

is but a solitary instance, and that very badly executed; yet these are three of the chief characteristics of Celtic decorative art. The spiral is but feebly represented in any form. On one piece we meet with it as a detached S-shaped design; on another we find a similar spiral doubled; in one case, 65, there have been rude spiral figures, now too broken to determine their precise character. An exceptional figure is that of a Fylfot with spiral terminations; the same stone, 62, exhibits a band of beautiful scroll-work. Otherwise we only meet with this design in the form of Volutes terminating the bead borders to the shafts of crosses in four instances (fig. 19).

Of Knot-work we have seven designs—three with the Triquetra, singly, in pair, and four-fold; and four with Rings folded or interlaced (fig. 21).

The following table will show the nature, use, and distribution of the decorative patterns on these early Celtic pieces:—

TABLE OF PATTERNS AND DESIGNS

DESIGN.	LOCALITY.
KEY—(rudely drawn, terminating in volutes) . . .	Maughold 65.
SPIRAL—	
S-shaped	Michael 64 (below circle surrounding the limbs of the Cross); Maughold 66.
Fylfot, with spiral terminations	Conchan 62.
Scroll Work in a band	Conchan 62.
Spirals at junction of limbs of beast	Conchan 61.
C-shaped Spiral, right and left hand	Rushen 50.
Volutes, to shaft of Cross, single	Maughold 66; Conchan 62, 63.
„ „ „ double	Conchan 62; Michael 64.
„ „ „ involved	Lonan 49.
KNOT-WORK—	
Triquetras, single	Maughold 25; Rushen 50; Santon 68.
„ double	Lezayre 53; Maughold 51.
„ design of four continuous	Lezayre 53.
Four-fold Ring	Rushen 50; Lezayre 53; Braddan 56.
„ with plain circular Ring interlaced	Lezayre 53.
Diagonal oval Rings interlaced	Maughold 52; Lonan 57; Conchan 61 (irregular).
The same, interlaced with diamond-shaped Ring	Maughold 52.
PLAIT-WORK—	
Twist	Lonan 57.
Twist, with circular Ring	Braddan 56.
Double Twist, with Diamond-shaped Ring	Maughold 58; Conchan 59.
Plait-of-Three	Lonan 57; Conchan 61; Michael 64; Maughold 51, in ring; Braddan 69.
Plait-of-Four	Maughold 52 and 66; Lonan 57; Conchan 61; Michael 64; Braddan 69.
Plait-of-Five	Maughold 51.
Plait-of-Six	Braddan 69; Maughold 55, worn.
Plait-of-Ten, with "Breaks"	Conchan 62.
Irregular Plait	Lonan 57; Braddan 69; Conchan 63.
Plait too worn to decipher	Maughold 54.
Figure-of-Eight Plait	Rushen 50; Conchan 59, 63.
LOOP-FORMS OF PLAITS—	
Twist, with loop from right to left, facing upwards	Michael (circle) 64; Maughold (shaft and circle) 66.
Twist, with loop from left to right, facing upwards	Maughold 65.
Twist, with loop facing inwards, surrounded by bands forming Figure-of-Eight Knot	Conchan (circle) 63.
Twist, with double row of loops	Braddan 56.

Of other designs, we find on a limb of Maughold 51 one of crossed diagonal bands contained within a plain bead border, having rings in the centre and at the four points of crossing, a design met with elsewhere only on the Anglian cross at Chester-le-Street, North Durham. Another is that on the rectangular slab, Conchan 59, a narrow fillet interlacing with the borders of the limbs and circle, and forming between the limbs four double heart-shaped loops. Inanimate objects are represented by two Chairs, a Pastoral Staff, and a closed Book with Celtic cross on the cover.

Of Zoomorphic work we have a good example in the dragon-headed interlacing, Maughold 60. Monstrous figures are represented by dog-headed beasts by the side of crosses at Conchan 62, 63, and Michael 64, and in a panel, Conchan 61 (fig. 23).



FIG. 23.—ZOOMORPHIC INTERLACING AND MONSTROUS FIGURES ON PRE-SCANDINAVIAN STONES.

(1) Maughold 60; (2, 3, 4) Conchan 61, 62, 63; (5) Michael 64.

Other pieces show human and animal forms as decoration, generally well drawn. Animals are represented by the hound, Michael 64, Maughold 65 and 66; stag, Maughold 65 and 66; and boar, Maughold 66 and 67; on the Braddan wheel-cross 69 are four nondescript figures, dog-like rather than anything else. Of man we have one, probably a Bishop, with closed book on his breast clasped by his two hands, and a pastoral staff by his side, Maughold 65; robed ecclesiastic, Maughold 66; seated monks in chairs, Maughold 67. Also man on horse-back, Maughold 67; hunting, Maughold 66; and armed with spear, Michael 64 and Santon 68. Finally, on the cross, Maughold 51, which may perhaps be Anglian, we have a representation intended, I think, for Christ (fig. 24, 5).

The only Scripture subject (besides the Calf of Man Crucifix) figured on these early Celtic pieces is that of Daniel in the lions' den, one of a class found in paintings in the catacombs

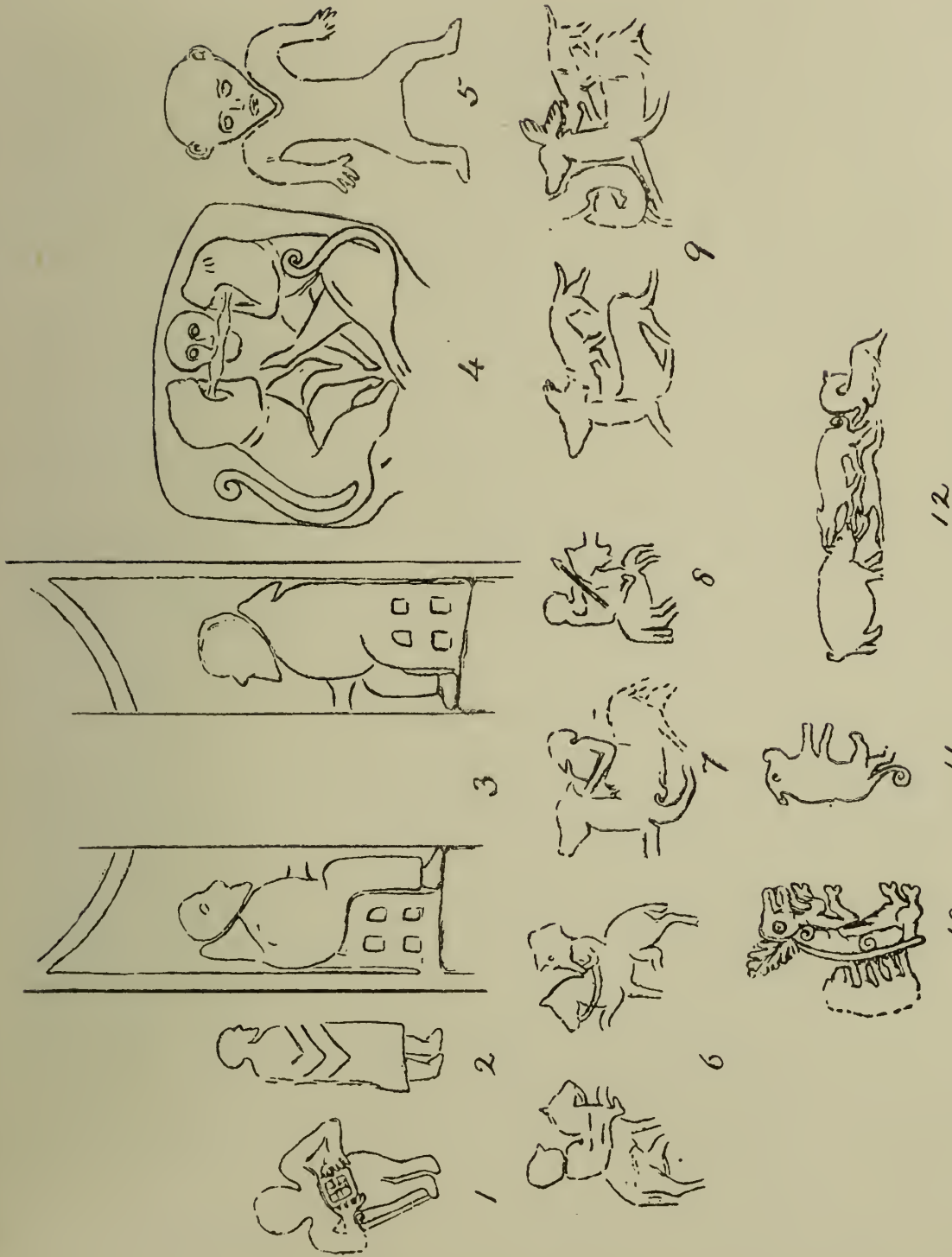


FIG. 24.—HUMAN AND ANIMAL FORMS ON PRE-SCANDINAVIAN PIERCES.

Men—(1, 2, 3) Maughold 65, 66, 67; (4) Braddan 69; (5) Maughold 69; (6, 7) Maughold 67, 66; (8) Michael 64. Stags and Hounds—(9, 10) Maughold 66, 65. Boar—(11) Maughold 67. Boar and Hounds—(12) Maughold 66.

and sculptured on early sarcophagi, which occurs with equal frequency on Irish and Scottish monuments of this period.

Thus we have on these pre-Scandinavian pieces one form of key pattern, eight of the later Celtic spiral, seven knots, fourteen interlaced designs, Zoomorphic plait and dog-headed monsters, three beasts, and seven representations of the human figure, besides the Scripture subjects.

This decorative ornament is exhibited on eighteen pieces sculptured in relief. The incised pieces have four with designs; the sunk pieces and about seven of those in relief have no ornament, except in some cases bead-borders, in two bosses, and in three central rings. Six others have circlets, cups, pellets, bosses, or crosslets, without other ornament. Of these eighteen pieces, seven are from Maughold, four from Conchan, two from Braddan, and one each from Lezayre, Lonan, Santon, Rushen, and Michael.

One early piece furnishes an unique example on stone of the Byzantine treatment of the Crucifixion; one appears by the inscription to be Anglian, while two or three others seem to show Anglian influence in their decoration. One I take to be Cymric, of a class represented in Cumberland. The Celtic work on the others appears, on the whole, to be rather late, probably from the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century. Though belonging to the Irish school of decorative art, it is clear from the design of double twist and diamond-shaped ring and the different forms of loop-plait not exactly matched elsewhere, and from other details alike in the geometrical and the figure drawing, that here has been no slavish copying from Irish, Scottish, or other monuments, but an independent working on well-known Celtic art motives, with considerable skill in execution and originality in design.

CLASS II.—SCANDINAVIAN

Our Scandinavian monuments are in all respects a continuation of the earlier series. They consist of upright headstones, generally rectangular or slightly tapering below, sometimes round-headed, in one or two instances with the spaces between the limbs pierced, and in two cases cruciform in outline. The Celtic type of cross which had now become the established form was that adopted, and in all cases figured by the Scandinavian sculptors, with slight variations of form. Though we cannot allow Gaut's claim that he carved "all the crosses in Man," we must recognise by it that he was the first Scandinavian sculptor,¹ and the two pieces which bear his name, as well as the four or five others which appear to show his handiwork, have the Celtic cross and connecting circle of the form figured by Mr. Romilly Allen, 102A.² Of these we may regard Andreas 73A as the type. The head measures from the centre of the limbs thirteen inches by seven inches wide; the shaft fifty-four inches by eight and a quarter inches to eight and a half inches at the foot; and the arms eight and a half inches by seven and three-quarter inches. The connecting circle is two and a half inches wide and about seventeen inches in outer diameter (fig. 25).

¹ With the possible exception, however, of the Maughold slab 72, certainly carved by another hand. But, if this was earlier than Gaut's work, it must have been unknown to him; it is more likely to have been later.

² *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, part ii., p. 52.

A form distinct, differing from this in the narrower limbs and proportionately longer shaft, and having no circle, occurs also at Andreas, and not elsewhere; of this I take the Santulf cross 103A as the type. The head measures seven inches by three and three-quarter inches; arms, six and three-quarter inches by three and a half inches; and shaft, thirty-eight inches by three and three-quarter inches, tapering to the bottom by five-eighths of an inch.

A third form is that at Maughold on the Roolwer cross 72, which approaches the Irish form with semi-circular expansion to the limbs, as on the Chobthac (Coffey) cross, and

as regards the very long upper limb and short arms, several other early slabs at Clonmacnois,¹ but none show quite the same proportions. On face "B" the measurements are as follows:—Head, sixteen and a half inches by two and a half inches to two and three-quarter inches, expanding at the top to five and a half inches; shaft, eighteen and three-quarter inches by two and three-quarter inches to three inches, with truncated pedestal four and three-quarter inches wide; arms, seven inches by three inches, expanding to four and a quarter inches. The expansions at the ends of the limbs are lightened by central hollow recesses. The circle connecting the limbs is a true one, and two inches wide, with an outside diameter of eleven inches.

In only four of this class do we find the cross with approximately equal limbs; in two of these the surrounding circle is a true one. The first—Maughold 91A—is of the Celtic form, with square ends overlapping the circle in such way as to leave the recessed spaces with thistle-head outline, the limbs being four and three-quarter inches long by two and a half inches to three and a quarter inches wide, and the square ends two and a half inches deep. A shaft has, however, been added below, eight inches long by three and three-quarter inches to four and three-quarter inches wide. Bride 97 has the limbs expanding to the point where they are cut off by the surrounding circle. They are seven inches long by three and three-quarters to five inches wide. Braddan 108, and Conchan 113, are slight variations of these.

These Scandinavian pieces occur in twelve out of our seventeen parishes in the following numbers:—Nine, seven (three times), four, three (twice), and one (five times): thirty-four of them in the Northern and eleven in the southern parishes.

We meet with as little symbolism in this Class as in the former—figures which may have

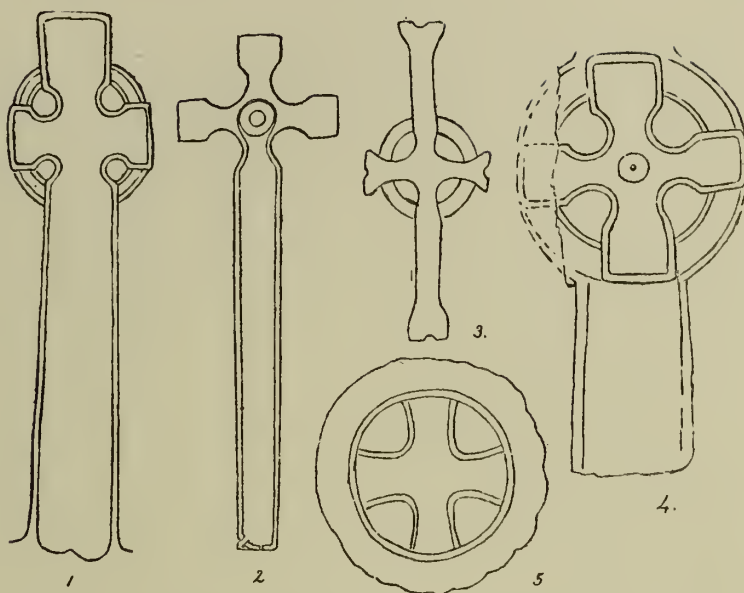


FIG. 25.—FORMS OF CROSSES, SCANDINAVIAN.

- (1) Andreas 73A; (2) Andreas 103B; (3) Maughold 72B;
(4) Maughold 91A; (5) Bride 97A.

¹ Petrie, *Christian Inscriptions*, pl. xiii., 32; also pls. x. to xvi.

been symbolic in their origin appear to be treated rather as decorative designs; for example, the two birds above the arms of the cross. The use of the triquetra would seem to be always decorative. The pastoral staff on the Maughold slab 72 was probably symbolic of the episcopal office (see p. 30), as the mitre at a later period. There remains the cross itself, with the circle, as in Class I.—the great symbol of the Christian faith.

As our earliest Celtic pieces are in the vernacular, and incised in the peculiar characters known as Ogam, so are our Scandinavian inscriptions—not in the Latin language and Roman characters, but in the Norse vernacular, and incised in Runes. Out of the total of forty-five, we find that twenty-six bear runic inscriptions,¹ eighteen in the Northern and eight in the Southern District. Probably many of the remaining nineteen also bore inscriptions, but if so these are now broken off and lost.

The Christian symbol appears in the form of the Celtic cross on all, the two late inscriptions at Maughold alone excepted, and we find also that the decorative treatment and the designs themselves are of Celtic type and origin. But they are by no means mere copies: the artists have entered into the spirit of the earlier work, have developed simple designs, and evolved from them new patterns. It was not from any monuments in the Isle of Man that they got their inspiration. Such a characteristic Celtic design as the step-pattern which occurs several times on our Scandinavian pieces² is not met with once on our earlier monuments; the triple divergent spiral which occurs on the Roolwer cross, Maughold 72, and the chevron on the Bride Cross 97, are unknown to our Celtic pieces. In figure drawing we notice the frequent use of the curious little spiral at the junction of the limbs, which, though we find it occasionally on Scandinavian carving of the Viking period, as on the Ramsund and Goek stones, and on heathen stones from Klistad and Langthora, and Overselo, Södermanland, Sweden,³ appears to be of Celtic origin. So, too, we find a peculiar Nimbus, with fringed edges, which is not found outside the Isle of Man, though the three crosslets with which it is decorated might have been suggested by the Book of Kells or some other illuminated MS.⁴

Gaut, the first and greatest of our Scandinavian sculptors, introduced a peculiar pattern—the Ring-chain—which became such a favourite with his successors that it is met with in all eighteen times, besides the form taken in the terminations to interlaced bands and other developments or applications of it, and may be considered a characteristic of Manx art, as elsewhere in the British Isles it is not found more than five or six times.⁵ It was Gaut, also, who developed from a simple Twist of two bands a series of knots and designs culminating in the graceful Tendril pattern which is seen in perfection on the Ballaugh Cross 77. This, too, becomes a characteristic of the Manx Crosses, occurring twelve times.

¹ One of them, Michael 104, has two inscriptions in Runes and two in Ogam.

² We find this design on the heathen block at Eke, Upland, Sweden (*O.N.R. Mon.*, ii., 672); also on the Ramsund rock.

³ *O.N.R. Mon.*, ii., 733, 746, 769. Sigurds-Ristningarna å Ramsunds-Berget och Göks-stenen.—Carl Säve, 188.

⁴ The use of the crosslets seems to be a refinement on the Cruciferous Nimbus of Byzantine Art. In sculpture, we meet with this in Norman work. See article by Mr. Romilly Allen on "Sculptured Norman Capitals at Southwell Minster" (*The Illustrated Archaeologist*, vol. i., 1894).

⁵ At Gosforth and Muncaster, Cumberland, and Burnsall, Yorkshire. One in Anglesey and one in Cornwall alone show it in the form taken in the Isle of Man. Owen Jones, in his *Grammar of Ornament*, Chapter xv., considers this to have been "probably borrowed from the Roman tessellated pavements on which it is occasionally found." But his examples, pl. xxii., figs. 22, 27, have only a superficial and accidental resemblance—consisting of two parallel rows of bold cable pattern, which, at each point of crossing, throw inwards and upwards an offshoot to connect with the other, so as to leave a V-shaped space between the cables.

⁶ See page 43, fig. 28, 1.

(Dedicated to the Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, K.G.)

THE
OLD CHURCH PLATE
OF THE
ISLE OF MAN.

— BY —

E. ALFRED JONES.

AUTHOR OF

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HE Isle of Man, its history, both general and ecclesiastical, its topography and archæological remains have all received marked attention at the hands of competent writers. But the subject of the old Sacramental Plate in the ancient Churches of this charming Island has had but scant notice, except, perhaps, the well-known mediæval silver chalice at Jurby, and a paten of the same period at Kirk Malew.

The increasing interest taken in old English Plate, ecclesiastical and secular, in silver and pewter, that has escaped the ravages of time, survived the troublous periods of the Reformation and the Civil War, not to say the negligence of the clergy, churchwardens and custodians generally, and the great importance of preserving the valuable Communion Plate of the past, which, by reason of its association no less than its sacred uses, call for perpetuation in a permanent record, and it is hoped that this volume will meet that need.

The introductory pages will contain details of the various types of Communion Cups in use in the Isle of Man, showing the stages in their development, followed by a minute description of every piece, with description of coat-of-arms or other devices engraved on them, copies of every inscription or initials, measurements, brief biographical notices of the donors, and other interesting matter.

The Plate includes the valuable pre-Reformation silver chalice and paten, previously mentioned ; a very fine Elizabethan beaker ; an interesting old Dutch beaker ; other beakers of different dates—Queen Anne and the Georgian period ; a Charles I. chalice ; a massive and rare Commonwealth Cup, given by

Bishop Henry Bridgeman ; a fine Charles II. tankard ; several pieces of George III. reign ; other valuable specimens of Silver Plate produced at London, Dublin, Chester and other places, including several gifts in silver and pewter, by Dr. Thomas Wilson, son of the celebrated Bishop Wilson ; others by friends of the Bishop, and a number by prominent native Manx people.

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Finally, it was Gaut who invented the peculiar Manx decorative treatment of the head of the cross, which became general in the Isle of Man, and, as it is not to be found elsewhere, would serve to identify a Manx cross if ever removed from the Island.

In considering the art of our earlier Celtic pieces we have taken them in the order of their development from simple boulders, pillars, and slabs which have no ornament at all, to

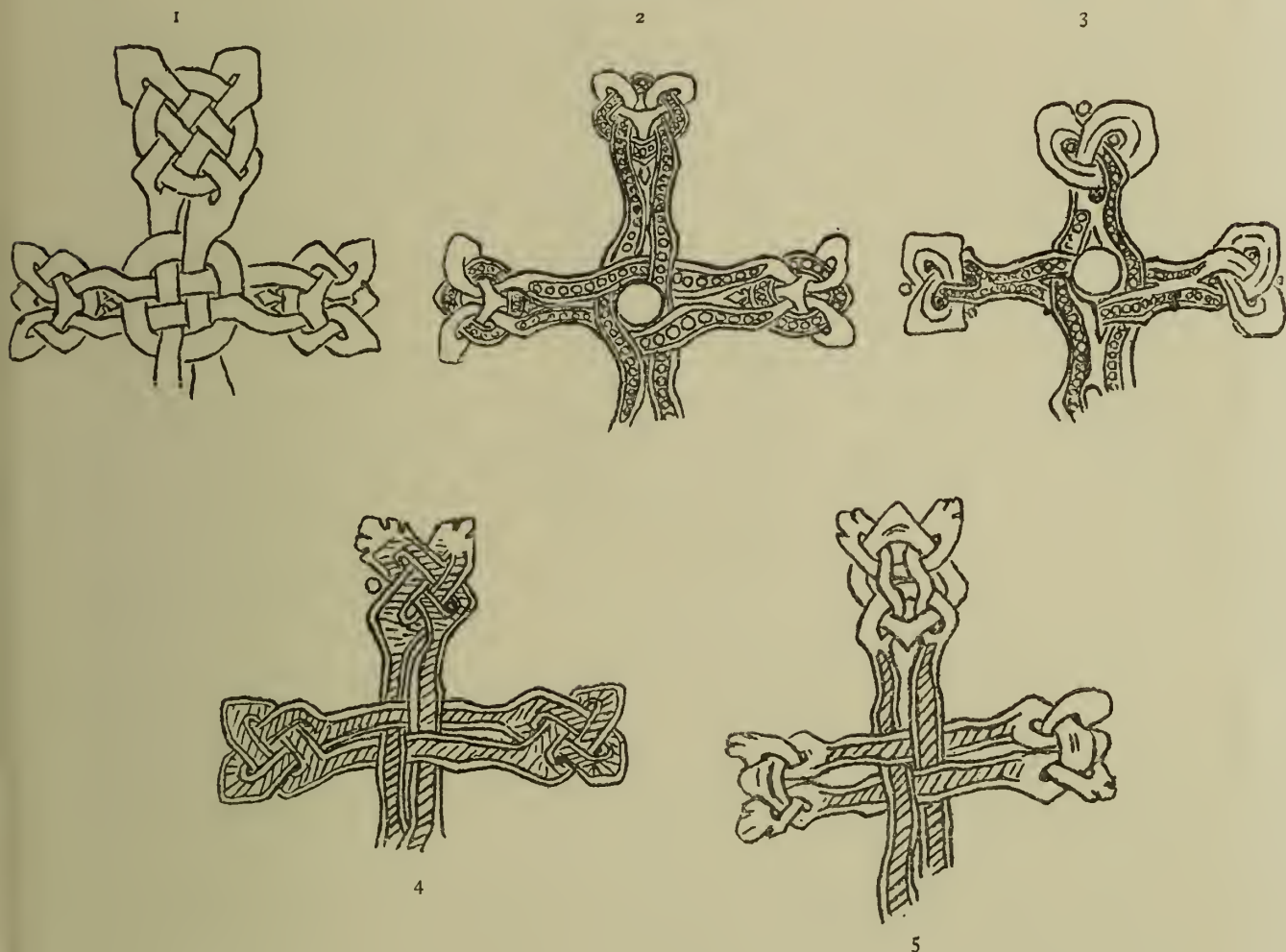


FIG. 26.—DECORATIVE TREATMENT OF THE HEAD OF THE MANX SCANDINAVIAN CROSSES.

(1) Michael 74A ; (2, 3) Ballaugh 77A, B ; (4, 5) Jurby 99A, B.

those pieces sculptured in relief with elaborate geometrical patterns and pictorial representations, this arrangement falling in with their probable chronological sequence.

With the Scandinavian pieces it will be more convenient to follow here the same plan, and to treat them in the order of decorative development. In doing so, it will be necessary to alter the arrangement somewhat from that in the descriptive portion of our work, where they are arranged, so far as possible, in what appears to be their probable order in time ;

so much so, that the few pieces which show absolutely no ornament, no sign of forming the outline of the stone or dressing the surface, and so are here first referred to, belong chronologically to the very end of the series.



FIG. 27.—FORMS OF LINK-TWIST.

(1) Andreas 73A; (2) Andreas 83B; (2a) Andreas 84A; (3) Michael 74B;
(4) Jurby 99B¹; (5) Malew 94A.

carving on the portion now lost. So in Peel Cathedral, German, another slab, 112, of which only the edge is visible, bears the words "this cross," and has, no doubt, been carved on one or both faces.

With these few exceptions, our Scandinavian pieces are handsomely decorated on both faces, and sometimes on the edges. Several exhibit geometrical designs only. First among these is that which we are told in the inscription was carved by Gaut of Cooilley, Andreas 73. Each face bears a cross of our first and most general type, with the limbs connected by a circle. The treatment of the head is peculiar to the Isle of Man (fig. 26). A pair of bands carried up from the plait-work or other design on the shaft interlaces in a central ring with another pair crossing the arms at right angles to the first.² The extremities loop backwards,

¹ According to Cumming (fig. 11b). The stone is much worn, but I think the design was as in fig. 28, 1. I give Cumming's figure here, however, as being a likely step in the evolution of the tendril pattern.

² The only instance I know of a cross-head decorated with two vertical and two horizontal bands interlacing is at Brochan, Renfrew, which, however, has two concentric rings, and the bands terminate in plait-work, but they are *not* carried up from the shaft.—*Early Christian Monuments*, iii., 775. The only other which approaches our Manx crosses in this respect is at Kildaltan, Islay, where the bands turn to right and left and terminate in diagonal rings, interlaced with a circular one.—*Carved Stones of Islay*, Graham, No. 80.

Such are two unhewn and unshaped slabs of the local clay-slate from Maughold, one, 114 found near an old Keeil at the head of Corna Valley, and the other, 115, from the Parish Church. Both of these, to judge from their inscriptions, are as late as the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. Another, from Conchan 113, has incised on each face a rudely-drawn Celtic cross and circle. Except in the form of the cross itself, which is bordered by a fine line, it exhibits no sort of artistic treatment. Both faces are inscribed in late runes.

A broken slab from Marown 111 cannot be placed, as what now remains shows no trace of sculpture or design. The use of the words "this cross" shows that there has been some

and connect in a V-shaped tongue to buckle with an interlacing ring, thus presenting the appearance of the ring-chain pattern, by which possibly this may have been suggested. Sometimes the bands split to form diagonal oval rings, interlacing with a square or diamond-shaped one. This appears to have been the case in the upper limb on both faces of this cross. The shaft on each face bears a plain plait-of-five, the spaces to the right and left of it being occupied on the one face by a key-fret (No. 899 of the Analysis) and twist-and-ring (No. 574); this latter design is met with in Ireland only at Castle Dermot, and three times in Wales, but in Scotland on twenty-four stones and in England nineteen. The other face shows a plain twist and a development of this simple design which I term a link-twist, forming one of the series leading up to the tendrill pattern (fig. 27).

The form here taken, 1, has an off-shoot or link at each point of crossing thrown out from the inside of the right-hand band to pass under and over, linking on to the other band above the point of crossing. Except in this one instance, the link is always thrown off from the outside of the right-hand band, passing horizontally instead of vertically as, 2, in Andreas, where it passes over and under, to unite below the point of crossing, with the left band. In Michael 75 the edge of the stone is unfortunately broken, but I believe the design took this form. Again, 3, the direction may be reversed, the link passing below instead of above, as in Michael 74. Cumming¹ figures a development, 4, which is practically the same as the second, but carried further, so as to return to the band of origin below, thus forming a complete loop. I have, however, examined this stone, Jurby 99, with the utmost care, and though it is very badly worn, I think that Cumming was mistaken, and that the lower end of the off-shoot terminates in a loose coil below the two bands. There is an interesting variation on the Malew slab, 5, where the link is thrown from the inside of the right-hand band, passing downwards and round, so as to loop over itself and link on to the inside of the left-hand band. Lastly, 6, we have the fully-developed tendrill pattern, which is seen in beautiful perfection on Ballaugh 77, and is of frequent occurrence in the work of Gaut and his successors.²



FIG. 28.—TENDRIL PATTERN AND DESIGNS OF LINKED BANDS.
(1) Ballaugh 77B; (2) Bride 92B; (3) Jurby 99B; (4) Ballaugh 77A.

¹ *The Runic and other Monumental Remains of the Isle of Man*, pl. iii., fig. 11b.

² Elsewhere the nearest approach to this design that I know of is on the Rossmarkie Cross (left side, middle panel), where the interlacing bands split, and are continued in long tendrils to form loops.—*Early Christian Monuments in Scotland*, iii., p. 67. Since writing the above, I have heard from Mr. Romilly Allen that it occurs on the bell-shrine of St. Mura and in Caedmon's *Paraphrase of the Scriptures*.

Still further patterns are developed from these designs, as 7, on Bride 92, where two bands *not* twisted, but converging and diverging at regular intervals—it might be regarded as a twist with vertical breaks—throw off from the outside two links, one passing above, the other below, the spaces being occupied by pellets. From this we get 8, the knot on the stone at Jurby 99, which takes a form as of a double triquetra back to back. And upon Ballaugh 77 we have a design, 9, similar to the last, but the bands connected by a single loop passing downwards, and expanding into the V-shaped tongue to buckle with an interlacing ring, being, in fact, the same idea as in Gaut's treatment of the extremities of the limbs (fig. 28).

The other cross slab, Michael 74, which bears Gaut's name, with the bold assertion that he made it, "and all in Man," shows also pure geometrical decoration. The shaft on one face exhibits our first instance of the ring-chain pattern (see fig. 29). This has been called "vertebral pattern," and more aptly, I think, by Cumming, "chain-cable." On our Manx monuments it invariably takes the form of a single line or chain, which upon analysis is found to be composed of three distinct sets of linked rings interlaced, the lower part of each ring expanding into a Y-shaped tongue, where it overlaps the next below.

It appears to be derived from a design such as we meet with around the lower part of the shaft of the beautiful Gosforth cross, near Whitehaven, and was thought by the late Mr. Calverley to have originated in a conventional representation of the interlacing foliage of the sacred tree, Yggdrasil!¹ This view is supported by the design on one face of the Dearham cross,² on which we see the stem of the tree from which the interlacings arise. In the form of a double row, placed horizontally, it occurs on a granite font from Gällstead, West Gottland, figured by Du Chaillu in *The Viking Age*, i., 186.

The next step was to apply the design to fill in a long panel by reducing it to a single row, which becomes a chain of rings; this we see on the west and east faces of the Gosforth cross, where it is formed by a double bead, and again on the south side. A wooden Spoon found about 1845 in a ship twelve to fourteen feet below the level of the streets at Upsala, and described by Prof. Carl Save, bears this design on the haft, which ends in a dragon-head like those on Rune-stones (*O.N.R. Mon.*, ii., 98). In a single row, also, we meet with it at Muncaster, Cumberland,³ and at Burnsall, Yorkshire. The only other examples in Britain are at Penmon Priory, Anglesey,⁴ and Cardynham, Bodmin, Cornwall.⁵ In the two latter the position of the tongue or buckle is reversed, turning downwards instead of upwards, and it is in this form that it is invariably applied in the Isle of Man, where it occurs no less than eighteen times, almost always as a decoration on the shaft of the cross.

The space to the right of the shaft on this face of the stone contains the fully-developed tendril pattern. On the left is a plain plait-of-four; the spaces between, not being cut away, are occupied by rectangular pellets.

On the other face, the shaft has plait-of-five, the space to the left twist-and-ring (with almond-shaped pellets), and that to the right the variety 3 of link twist, in which the off-shoot is thrown, downwards and horizontally, to lap over and under, and link on to the other band. Above the circle we find the design of two diagonal rings interlaced.

¹ *Early Sculptured Crosses, etc., in the Diocese of Carlisle*, Rev. W. S. Calverley.

² *Ibid.*, p. 124.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

⁴ Westwood, *Lap. Wal.*, 84, 1.

⁵ Langdon, *Old Cornish Crosses*, p. 356, pl.

In Michael 75 we have the ring-chain design on the shaft, to the right a plain twist with little oblong pellets between the bands, and to the left form 2 of link-twist. The spaces between the bands are left, forming long flat pellets, which are ornamented by little incised chevrons. The other face has twist-and-ring on the shaft, which is very exceptional;

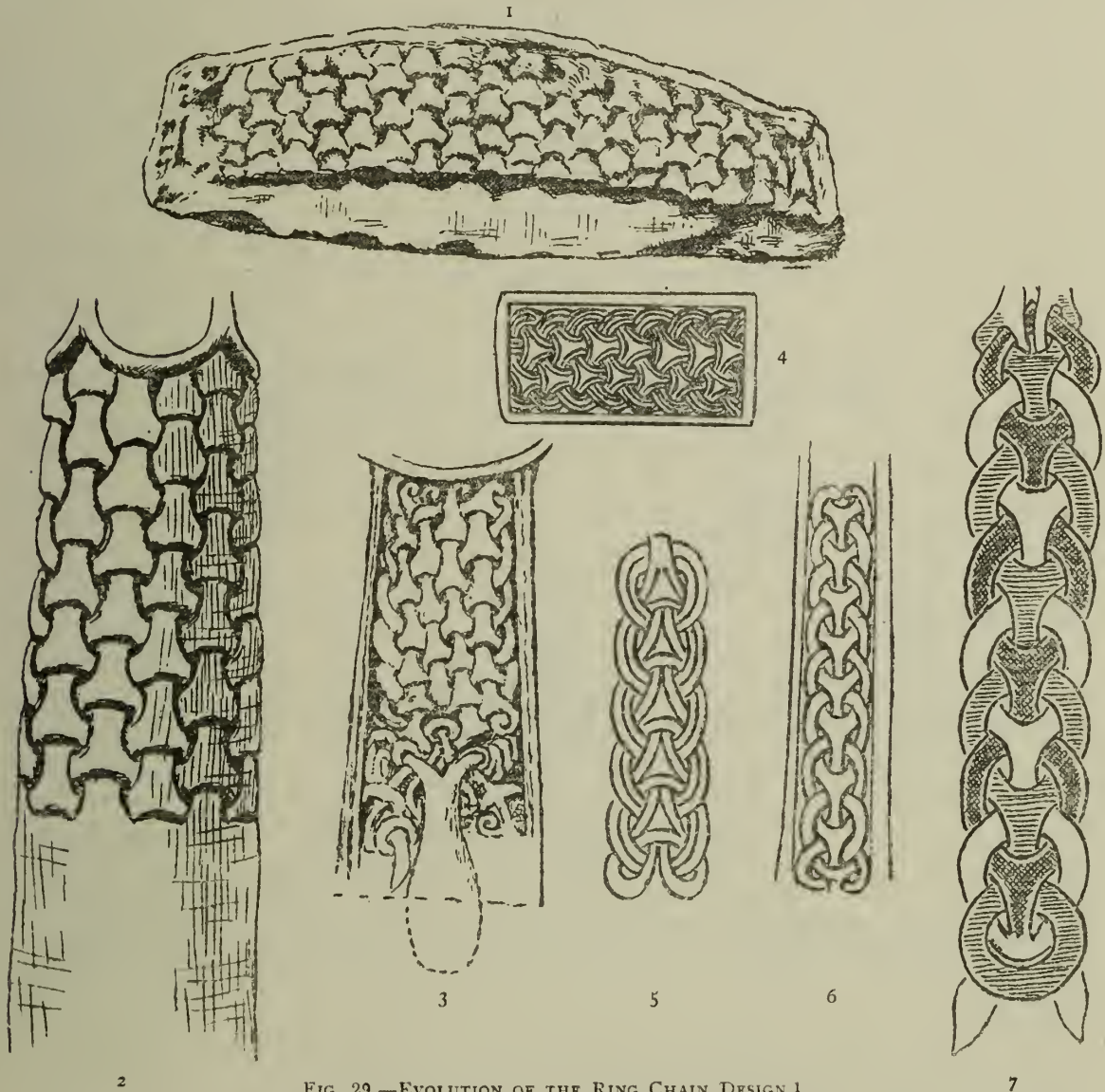


FIG. 29.—EVOLUTION OF THE RING CHAIN DESIGN.¹

(1) Cross-Canonby; (2, 5) Gosforth; (3) Dearham; (4) Panel on Font, Gällstead; (6) Cardynham.
(7) Michael 74A, shaded to show how the Manx form consists of three chains of rings interlaced.

the bands and rings are unusually broad, and the spaces between occupied by truncated pellets. It is finished below by the use of incised spirals, such as may be seen on many Scandinavian blocks early and late. To the right is a plain key-fret, the inscription occupying the space to the left.

¹ (1, 3) From Calverley, *Crosses, etc., Carlisle*; (2, 5) Stuart, *Sculp. Stones*; (4) Du Chaillu; (6) Langdon, *Cornish Crosses*.

In the Port St. Mary slab, Rushen 76, we meet again with the ring-chain and the tendril pattern, also plaits-of-five and of four and twist-and-ring (twice).

In Ballaugh 77 the outline of the stone has been shaped to form a wheel-head and expanding base. The cross on one face lacks the surrounding circle; the shaft and limbs have a slight taper to their extremities, which is exceptional. The treatment of the head is after Gaut's manner, but a central boss takes the place of a ring, and the loop terminations in the limbs of one face take the form of triquetra knots. The shaft of this face shows the tendril pattern decorated by pellets and double beads; on the left is a double-beaded key-fret, and on the right the ring-chain finished below in spiral flourishes, and terminating at the top in a small Celtic cross. Above the head, a plait-of-three is continued to end at either side in two diagonal oval rings, double-beaded and flourished at the ends. The other face has on the shaft the development of link design, before described (p. 43, fig. 28, 4), showing converging bands connected by a tongue-shaped loop buckling into an interlacing ring, and decorated with pellets. The space to the right has a plait-of-four ending in elaborate flourishes; that to the left bears the inscription.

The Nappin cross, Jurby 78, has on one face, for the first time, the circle ornamented, showing a plait-of-four within plain bead borders. What remains of one arm bears Gaut's treatment with the ring pelleted; and the space to the right of the shaft has the tendril pattern, which is curiously decorated with little curved scores. On the other face the shaft has plait-of-five, and to the right ring-chain; the space to the left has had interlacing of broad and narrow bands now almost entirely worn away.

The two fragments from Jurby 79, 80, also seem to show Gaut's treatment of the head; the bands are pelleted.

In the St. John's slab 81 we have the name of another carver, Asruth. Unfortunately, only a portion of the shaft remains; it shows the ring-chain pattern, plain. One edge has an irregular design of diagonal scores from right to left, and from left to right; the other bears the inscription. This stone is exceptional in having only one face carved. A broken slab from Maughold 82 is very similar, but the ring-chain is decorated by border lines. The other face also is carved, having the double twist and diamond-shaped ring design, double-beaded, with the rings bordered by fine lines, the spaces where the plait gets looser in the lower part being filled in with pellets. The shaft is the full width of the stone, and the arms must have been unusually short, even if the stone was wider at the top, which is now broken off.

A fragment from Andreas 83 shows ring-chain, key, and form 2 of link-twist as on Michael 75.

The bind-rune stone, Andreas 84, shows tendril, key, twist-and-ring, and link-twist, all double-beaded, the latter of the form 2.

The altered stone, Michael 85, turned round and converted, in 1699, into a tombstone with skull and cross-bones, has plait-of-five (probably) tendril pattern, double-beaded, and twist-and-ring.

The large slab, Braddan 86, displays a new treatment of the head, the bands carried from the shaft, turning to the right and left, instead of passing through the centre, and at the ends forming two loops linked by a ring. One face, very much worn, shows traces of plain key-fret and of some interlacing, the other ring-chain and twist-and-ring, with the inscription at the right of the shaft (fig. 30, 5).

Andreas, as before stated (p. 39), gives us a new variety in the form of the cross, the shaft narrow in proportion to its length, as well as to the stretch of arms, and the circle absent. We meet with this form in Andreas 87, which shows faint traces of ring-chain pattern and of plait-of-four or it may have been a link-twist. The cross on the Roskitil stone, Braddan 110, is of the ordinary type, but has no circle; only a portion of the head remains. The arm shows two interlaced diagonal rings, double-beaded; the inscription occupies the shaft and the space above the left arm. The other face shows two pelleted bands crossing and interlacing with two others, but without central ring; these terminate in loops with curious foliations, and two circular rings interlaced. The remaining space between the limbs is occupied by diagonal rings interlaced, above which a narrow diagonal fillet.

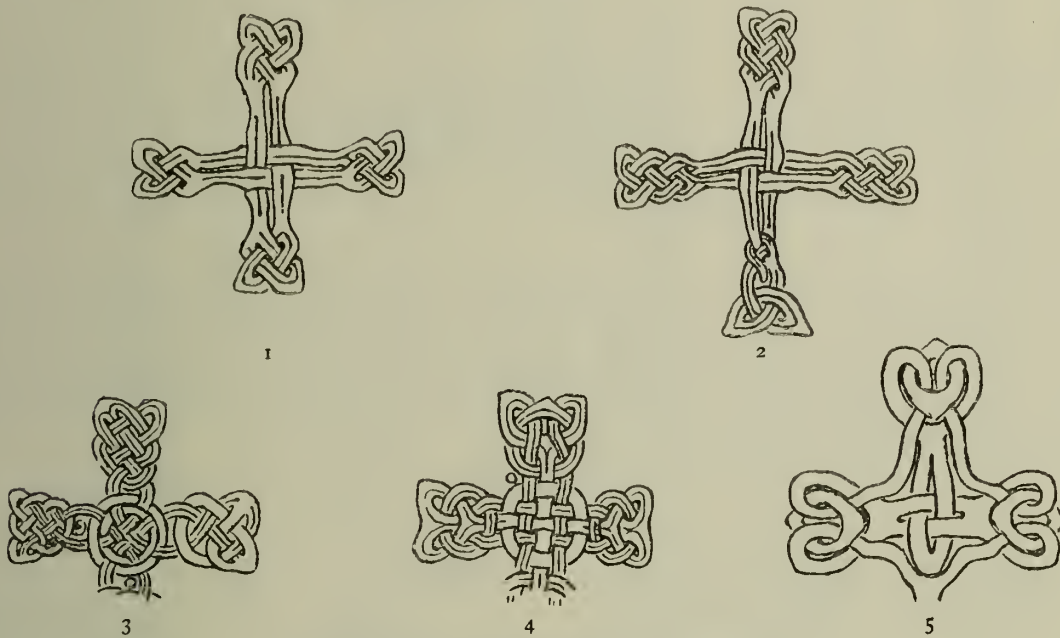


FIG. 30.—DECORATIVE TREATMENT OF HEAD.
(1, 2) Braddan 108A, B; (3, 4) Michael 89A, B; (5) Braddan 86A.

A fragment from Peel Castle, German 88, is the first of the Scandinavian pieces to have the spaces between the limbs pierced. The ornament is a loose plait, too fragmentary to show the character.

GEOMETRICAL AND ZOOMORPHIC DESIGNS

A large slab at Michael 89 shows similar workmanship to the last. The head is rounded, the stone tapers to the foot, the spaces between the limbs and the circle are pierced. The cross varies in form from the type I (p. 39), in having limbs and shaft expanding, and the circle connecting the limbs is a true one, not composed of segments of four different circles, as is usually the case. The treatment of the head differs from that of Gaut, though on one face evidently suggested by it. In this the bands at their extremities form outfolding loops, which unite in the centre to make a third middle band; in the centre and in each limb a

ring interlaces with the bands. On the other face the bands pass through two central rings to the right and the left arms, where they split to form involved interlacing loops, and pass

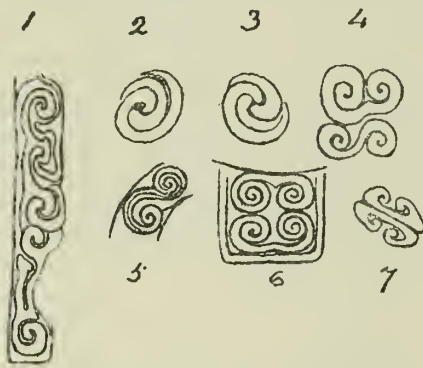


FIG. 31.—GEOMETRICAL DESIGNS ON SCANDINAVIAN PIECES: SPIRALS.

(1, 2, 3, 4, 7) Maughold 72; (5, 6) Bride 97.

pear-shaped eyes pointing forwards, their top-knots, and barbed tails, are characteristically Scandinavian.

A fragment from Mr. Wallace's collection, Michael 90, so closely resembles the last, both in execution and design, that it must almost certainly be by the same hand. It shows the head of a similar dragon on a larger scale, apparently in the same position at the side of the cross; above, as though forming a portion of the circle connecting the limbs, is an elaborate piece of plait-work, the bands, which are double-beaded, running vertically and horizontally, instead of diagonally, which is exceptional.

Quite different in style and workmanship is the small Maughold piece 91. The cross,

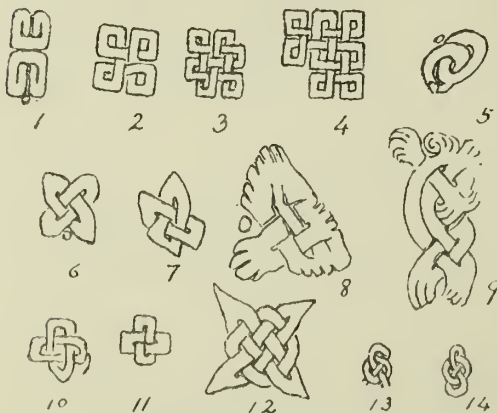


FIG. 32.—RING DESIGNS.

(1, 5, 6) Maughold 72; (2, 4, 13) Andreas 102; (3, 11) Andreas 103; (7) Michael 74; (8) Braddan 110; (9) Jurby 99; (10, 14) Bride 97; (12) Michael 104.



FIG. 33. TRIQUETRA DESIGNS.

(1) Bride 97; (2, 6) Michael 101; (3, 4) Michael 105; (5) Michael 104; (7) Braddan 109; (8) Andreas 103.

type 4, on each face is equal-limbed, the arms connected by a true circle, but a panel is added below as a shaft. On one face this bears ring-chain pattern engraved; the square ends of the

limbs contain irregular plait-work with little spiral flourishes. The circle has plaits-of-four and of three, two ending in the heads of serpents with sharp snouts and round eyes. The other face shows on the shaft, which is bordered with a cable moulding, a plait-of-eight; the limbs bear remains of plait-work, and the circle plain step-pattern.

Very different, again, is the beautiful pillar cross at Braddan 108. Here, for the first time, the stone itself is cruciform. On each face the design upon the head follows Gaut's



FIG. 34.—STEP AND KEY PATTERNS.

- (1) Braddan 109; (2) Braddan 108; (3) Maughold 91; (4, 7, 8, 11, 12) Maughold 72;
 (5) Andreas 103; (6) Michael 105; (9, 10) Bride 97; (13) Ballaugh 77;
 (14) Jurby 78; (15) Braddan 86; (16) Andreas 73.

treatment, the limbs in one case showing interlaced diagonal rings, in the other similar rings continued, with a fold at right angles to form a loop device, the lower limb ending in a triquetra knot with loose tendril at its upper part. The fust is occupied by four pelleted dragons, each showing one fore-leg and hind-leg, the heads lizard-shaped, the top-knots and

tails elaborately interlaced. The rather feeble and discontinuous interlacing is quite Scandinavian in character, the loose ends of the bands notched and ornamented with small spirals. A band of step-pattern on one face separates the cross from the fust or pillar. One of the edges is occupied by a single dragon with similar head, but without limbs, which forms, with a double-beaded band, a sort of link-twist. The four corners of the stone are finished with cable moulding—our only example of this treatment.

The broken pillar, Braddan 109, is very similar to the last, and must have been carved by the same hand. The outline of the stone differs only in proportions, the fust expanding more rapidly; as the head is lost, we can only surmise that it was probably something like the last. The general treatment, however, is rather different, a distinctly panel arrangement being favoured. The pelleted dragons on one face also show slight differences in shape and proportions. What remains of the other face is occupied by geometrical designs. The panels are separated by bands of step-pattern, scarcely to be distinguished from angular twist; one shows plait-of-seven, the other two double triquetra knots with spiral flourishes. One of the edges has step-pattern between raised flat borders; the dragon face is bordered by flat cable moulding.

GEOMETRICAL PATTERNS, WITH FIGURES

A broken slab, Bride 92, shows on each face the shaft of a cross. One has on the shaft the ring-chain pattern double-beaded. The space to the left, a development from the link twist (see fig. 28, 2), where two bands converging and diverging are connected by double links above and below; the effect is marred by little side flourishes at intervals. The space to the right had tendril pattern, double-beaded. The other face has on the shaft a plait-of-five; the space to the left a double twist and ring, of which the drawing is irregular, the lower band passing into the ring which is the third from the bottom, where the upper one should. Above this, the pattern breaks into the key-fret. The space to the right shows the feet of some beast; below, an elaborate knot formed from the link-twist (fig. 28); below, an animal, crested, with pointed head and straight thick tail, the feet very distinctly two-toed.

The fine slab at Maughold 72 differs in character from any other in the Island. The form of the crosses, with shaft and head of almost equal length and the arms very short, is peculiar. On one face the cross occupies nearly the whole length of the slab. In the centre is a ring of step-pattern, at either side of which is the figure of a cock; on the upper limb, the figure of a man with hands upraised, and a staff by his side; on the shaft, the Virgin and Child, with nimbus, now badly worn, but evidently of the form seen on Michael 100. The recesses between the limbs and circle are occupied by triple divergent spirals, double spirals, and linked rings. At either side of the head is a design of angular key pattern, which in the Island only occurs on one other stone, Bride 97, and, at the sides of the shaft, key, and infolded ring designs. The other face is divided into two panels. The cross in the upper one is plain (fig. 25, 3); at the sides, twist, double-beaded step, plait-of-three, and an irregular square loop interlacing; the panels enclosed by a cable moulding border. A lower panel is separated by double spirals and key designs, and contains rude scroll work, key, and irregular plait-of-three, with a triquetra, and figures of stag, hind, hound, and man on horseback. One edge has

angular key-fret, diagonal rings, spiral designs, and plait-of-three; the other a curious design of curved lines and cup hollows, suggesting a twist; also a square four-fold ring and plait-of-three. (For fuller account of the figures see Description of the Monuments, Maughold 72.)

A fragment from Jurby 107 shows remains of the head of a cross with circle, both faces displaying Gaut's treatment. On one the circle is plain, on the other it has had a loose plait. Below are remains of some loop-form of interlacing; above the circle figures of a stag and a boar. The other face shows a double triquetra knot, with flourishes and pellets.

The large Joalf cross-slab in front of Michael Church gates, 105, is remarkable for the number and variety of animals figured. They do not appear to have any other than a decorative purpose. The cross on each face is of the usual form, but the limbs are connected by a true circle, and the shaft is rather long, in one case being finished off with volutes above and below; in the other, the interlaced design throws out two large volutes at the bottom of the shaft. The whole surface of the cross on the first face is covered with close and regular plait-work, with four breaks on the shaft, which reduces the monotony and lightens the design, giving an appearance of panels, yet avoiding the stiffness of more pronounced divisions. In the execution we notice the use of the drill, which is very conspicuous in the work of the Beckermest cross, Cumberland¹; we meet with a similar use of drill-holes on a fragment from Great Farne and other Anglian pieces (see Canon Greenwell's *Catalogue of Sculptured and Inscribed Stones in the Cathedral, Durham*). It occurs on Greek and Byzantine work. The four corners

left between the circle and outline of the stone are occupied with triquetras, which appear again in circular designs of four midway at either side of the shaft, besides

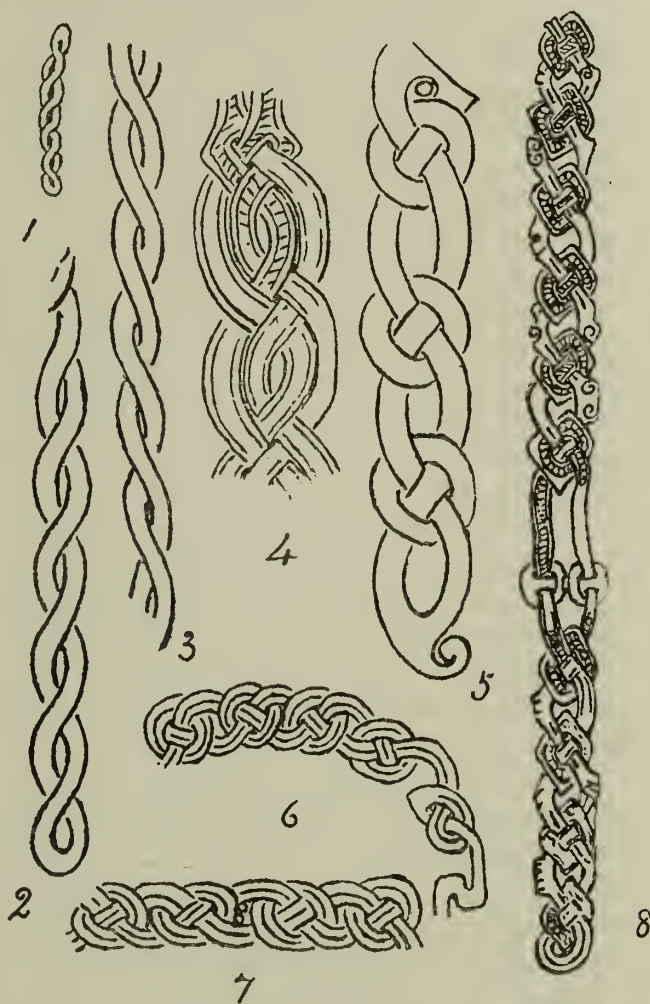


FIG. 35.

TWIST—(1) Maughold 72; (2) Andreas 73; (3) Michael 75.

DOUBLE TWIST—(4) Jurby 99.

TWIST AND RING—(5) Michael 74; (6) Bride 97;

(7) Andreas 103; (8) Michael 105.

¹ *Crosses, etc., Diocese of Carlisle*, p. 38.

forming a base to two decorative crosslets.¹ Immediately below the cross are two pelleted dragons, each having one fore-leg and hind-leg, with interlacement, reminding one of the Braddan Crosses 108, 109. Below is a band of step-pattern. The figures on this face are two stags with hounds at their backs, and a man on horseback followed by a spare horse. Below the band of step-pattern are a stag and hound, much worn.

The other face has the head of the cross with Gaut's design, the shaft with double twist and diamond-shaped ring. Above the head is a stag, and at its back a small bird pursued by a larger one. At the sides are a man on horseback, two riderless horses, and faint trace of the figure of a man; bull, ram, a conventional figure of a bird, and a horse. One edge bears the well-drawn figure of a cock, the space below which is occupied by a single twist and diamond-shaped ring design, with a curious break about two-thirds of the way down, formed by the omission of two of the rings, the bands converging, but not crossing, and connected below by a link. The other edge has, above the inscription, the figure of a warrior armed with spear and shield. The carving is bold and free; the bands and rings are decorated with pellets or double-beaded, and on the edge with small flourishes, notches, and spirals.

A very small fragment from Ballagilley, Maughold 106, shows the fore part of a boar, very well drawn. This must have been one of a series of figures at one side of the shaft of a cross, as on the last. It is in rather higher relief and on a larger scale. The monument must have been a very handsome one, and one wonders how the rest of it can have been so totally lost.

The rectangular Sandulf slab, Andreas 103, is also remarkable for its animal figures. The arm of cross on each face, type 2, is long and narrow (see fig. 25, p. 39), the upper limbs are bare of ornament, and there is no surrounding circle. On one face the shaft bears rather angular plait-of-five, terminated at the top by two of the bands interlacing in a circular ring. The shaft has a narrow border of key-fret and step-pattern. Above, a horizontal band shows plait-of-four, and, below, another band (bordered like the shaft) has twist-and-ring double-beaded. On the other face the shaft bears the ring-chain pattern, terminated at the top by a small Latin cross; above the head, a loose sort of triquetra loop design. Below the cross is a vertical band of tendril pattern. On one face, two rectangular interlaced rings appear at the back of a man on horseback, and on the other a square-folded ring and ring-and-buckle design. The animals appear to be, on one face, a cock and some other bird above the arm of the cross; a stag pursued by hounds, man on horseback armed with a club, boar, and long-horned ox; goat, wolf, hound, hind, and bear. The other face has also above the arms a cock and some other bird with a collar. (See, as to this design of the birds, under Description of the Monuments, Maughold 72.) Below are stag, knotted serpent, wolf, calf, wolf and hound, or it may be another wolf; goat, ram, ox, and boar. Below the cross is a robed figure on horseback, and lower down a faintly incised hound.

The broken head of a slab, Michael 101, shows Gaut's decorative treatment on one face. The bands are pelleted, but variety and artistic effect are given by leaving all within

¹ The triquetra, which appears on sixteen monuments in England (of which seven are in Cornwall), is met with also on nine in Scotland and six in Wales, but on two only in Ireland. In the Isle of Man it occurs singly on four Scandinavian and three of our earlier pieces, in a design of four continuous, on two Scandinavian and one Celtic, and in form of knots on two Celtic and eight Scandinavian pieces—in all on twenty monuments, fourteen of which are Scandinavian sometimes four and even five times repeated.

the central ring plain, and by having the loop terminations in the limbs double-beaded; the foliation in the upper limb is more advanced than in any of our other pieces. Above the left quarter of the circle is a pelleted dragon with one fore-paw and top-knot like those on the Joalf cross 105, and the Braddan pillar crosses 108, 109. The corresponding space above the right quarter is occupied by the figure of a man attacked by an eagle—possibly intended to suggest a hero fallen in battle, and the great eagle, Hræ-svelgr, carrion swallower. A somewhat similar scene occurs on an early Celtic cross at Aberlemno, Forfarshire, where, among figures of warriors on horse and foot, is one of a man staggering backwards with a bird of prey pecking at his breast.¹ As, however, ours is a Scandinavian piece, we may expect a motive from the Norse history, folk-lore, or mythology.

The other face also shows Gaut's treatment, still more floreated, and with a certain angularity and want of gracefulness; the bands split to form diagonal rings at the ends which cross and interlace with a circular ring; and owing to the central figure, the bands do not come up from the shaft, and in the upper limb stop short in a rather ugly angle. In the centre is a nimbed figure in plaited garment, his arms outstretched in the ancient attitude of prayer or blessing; below his feet are five large pellets, which may be intended to suggest clouds, the figure probably representing Christ in ascension. The curious form of nimbus terminating in fringes, and decorated with three crosslets, appears to be peculiar to the Isle of Man (see p. 40).

Above the left arm is the well-drawn figure of a cock, symbol of the Resurrection. The branch on which it rests finishes in a triquetra knot; on the other side, a winged figure of an angel—possibly intended for the Holy Ghost—below which we again see the triquetra.

The fragment from Jurby 98, showing the base of a cross shaft, has on one face the ring-chain pattern, the V-shaped tongue bordered by a fine line. The fore-feet of some animal are seen above a curious design of flat pellets within a border of step-pattern. The other face has on the shaft double twist-and-ring, the inner band of the twist and the rings being pelleted; on one side are very rudely-drawn figures of a boar and a hart; on the other a robed figure with a trident, and, below, a bird-headed figure with a pole over his shoulders, from the end of which, suspended by a rope, hangs a smaller figure. This would appear to illustrate some scene from the Norse mythology. Thus Odin, the "Eagle-headed," who in the character of Bikke, the evil counsellor, caused Randver's death by hanging; the robed figure above, possibly the aged King Jormanrek, Randver's father. In the animals we may recognise the boar, Saerimner, which affords sport to the champions in Valhalla; and the sacred hart, Eikthyrnir, "that stands o'er Odin's hall, and bites from Lærad's branches."

In the Rumund cross, Michael 100, we have the double twist-and-ring design—the outer bands and rings pelleted; tendril pattern, double-beaded, and twist-and-ring. On the other face the shaft has the ring-chain design, double-beaded. The spaces at the sides are occupied by figures. Below the circle, on the left, a man, robed, under his arm a book, his hands clasping a crutch-shaped staff; over his head the peculiar Manx form of nimbus, with fringed ends, decorated with three crosslets. Undoubtedly this is a Christian subject, but the other figures appear to illustrate the heathen idea of the future life; thus the two bird-headed warriors, one head downwards to show that he is dead, may be the champions in Valhalla,

¹ *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, p. 211, fig. 227b.

who spend their days in hunting and fighting, their nights in feasting. On the other side of the shaft we see Odin with his spear, Gungnir (Tusker) and his two wolves, Geri and Freka.

The broken head of a slab, Jurby 99, shows on one face a double twist design; in the upper limb the bands terminate in diagonal oval rings interlaced. This double twist (No. 519 of Mr. Romilly Allen's Analysis) is rare; we find it on a stone at Rothesay, and once at Clonmacnois. The other face has the tendril pattern on the shaft. The terminations in the limbs show a further variation. In the upper one, the two bands connect by an upward loop, then pass on to form a downward loop, the whole presenting the figure of a four-fold ring, with which a diamond-shaped ring is interlaced. The terminations in the arms have no interlaced ring, and though the idea is the same as in the upper limb, the expression of it is more compact, the two loops overlap, and the result is a different design, resolving into a double triquetra knot. Both faces have the bands decorated with diagonal scores between fine border lines, giving the appearance of pellets, varied in this by the tendril and the terminations being double-beaded. Some scoring in the loops displays an approach to foliation.

To the left of the shaft is a plain key-fret, the space to the right being occupied by an artistic knot, formed by combining the terminal designs of the two arms, thus making two double triquetras. The other face has the inscription on the left, and on the right a more elaborate knot, which again is a development of the designs in the arms—two sets of diagonal oval rings interlaced with flourishes. Above is the figure of a man in a tunic, blowing an Alpine horn, doubtless intended to represent Heimdall, Warder of the Gods, who at Ragnarök will summon them to the last great battle by a blast on the Gjallar horn, which rings through all the nine worlds. Cumming's cast, taken before the top of the stone was broken, shows a flying raven above his head. The long-robed, dog-faced figure on the other face may be the sibyl Hyndla, whose prophecies foretell the fate of Heimdall and the dreadful days of Ragnarök.

The fine monument at Bride 97 is truly remarkable for the variety of geometrical designs, as well as for the figure drawing and mythological references. The slab is round-headed, the cross on either face an equal-limbed one, and the spaces between the limbs and surrounding circle—a true one—is pierced (see fig. 25). It shows throughout a panel arrangement suggestive of Celtic models. The crushed angular key-fret which we only have elsewhere on the Maughold slab 72 is freely used. The circle on one face shows twist-and-ring breaking into key-fret, and then into a plait-of-four, with a double spiral and a small triquetra between the beginning and the end; on the other face, twist-and-ring breaks into a plait-of-three; the remaining third is unfortunately chipped off. Three limbs of one face are occupied by the angular key, the fourth by a plait-of-four. The other face has angular key-fret on one limb, and on the other three irregular designs of rings and rods, while the centre is occupied by interlaced diagonal rings. On this face we have, above the circle, a panel of angular key, at either side of which is the figure of a cock and a triquetra. Below is a panel with two double spirals face to face, from which a narrow band of ring-chain pattern runs down the middle. The slab itself has had a double border of step-pattern and of cable work, the former terminating on the right in the head of a serpent. The rest of this face is occupied by figures, by panels of crushed key-fret, and a design of oval interlaced rings. The other face has, above the head, a panel of angular key-fret framed by cable-border, above which is a chevron and arched cable, and at either side the figure of a dwarf and a plain triangle. Below the circle is a panel of

angular key-fret bordered by cable-moulding, from which a band of step-pattern runs down the middle. A panel of angular key on the left terminates below in a large volute, with a triquetra to fill up the space on one side; above are step-pattern and two triquetras; to the right is a panel with plait-of-nine, double-beaded, and just below the circle a double spiral. Two figure-of-eight knots within a circular ring occupy the spaces between the arms of a human figure.

Of figures we have on one face a bearded man, belted, running with some large object in his hand. Below is a great bird; below, again, a stag with a hound at its back and another under its feet; and below that, separated by a panel of key-fret, two large hounds, back to back. To the left is a bird, a man with spear attacking a stag, another man beneath the stag armed with a knife; at the back of the stag a hound, and another behind it. The other face shows on the right a man with spear, and, below, a panel with a horse, or possibly a stag. As the head is broken off, it is uncertain. This animal is trampling human bodies underfoot.¹ To the left is a man, belted, attacking a serpent with a knife; below, a giant and a dwarf, with some curious square figure above the shoulder of the giant. There are also above the circle on one face the two birds referred to above, on the other the two dwarfs.

Though some of these figures are no doubt merely decorative, others appear to illustrate stories from the Norse mythology. The man attacking the serpent is, I think, intended for Thor, who is to meet the dread Midgardsorm at Ragnarök. The corresponding figure with a spear may be Odin. The monstrous figure with arms akimbo and legs outstretched may well represent the giant Rungni, who challenged Thor to combat, and stood upon his shield to meet him; and the little figure at its shoulder, Main, the three-nights-old son of Thor, who released his father from the weight of the fallen giant. Then we have the dwarfs upholding the lift, the two great wolves of the Eclipse, and, I think, other scenes.

The Mal Lumkun cross, Michael 104, is shown by the inscription to be the work of a Swedish, not a Norwegian artist, as most of our Scandinavian pieces are. It is highly decorated with Celtic designs arranged in panels, the decorative treatment and the workmanship being very delicate and artistic. The limbs of the cross, which is of the usual form 1 (see fig. 25), are connected by a true circle, plain, but with cable borders. The cross also has a border, which on the shaft takes the form of cable-moulding, terminating below in the head and tail of a serpent. In the centre is a ring of cable pattern, surrounded by the ring-chain. Each limb is occupied by a device of four triquetras, double-beaded, continuous, between which and the circle is a design of two diagonal oval rings interlaced with a diamond-shaped one. The shaft has a plait-of-nine, with a horizontal break in the middle; below, a plait-of-seven. The space to the left shows a stag with a hound at its back; below, a robed figure with tau-headed staff. On the right, just below the circle, are the remains of a stag and hound; below, a harper seated and playing on a four-stringed harp, to whom a long-robed female is offering a drinking horn; below, a robed figure corresponding to that on the other side. The Celtic and the Christian character of these figures is evident, except in the case of the harper

¹ In *Vikingerne*, p. 227, Dr. Alexander Bugge figures a stone from Ardre Kirke, Gotland, showing two animals conventionally treated with very involved interlacings trampling a human form underfoot. He regards the animals as stags, as he does those upon our Bride Stone, to which he refers. I think, however, that in both cases they are meant for horses, and may refer to the death of Swanhild. (See further under the Description of the Monuments, Bride 97.)

and the figure offering to him, which must be taken together, and may have a mythological reference; the idea may have been suggested to our artist by carvings in Gotland, Sweden, as on the Tjängvide and the Habbingbo stones, on which robed figures are seen offering mead to Odin. Below the sculpturing is an Ogam alphabet.

The other face of the stone is not sculptured, but bears two inscriptions in runes which differ from those used on our other monuments. In the middle are the worn remains of another inscription scratched in Ogam.

The small Thorwold cross 102 is of the Andreas type (see fig. 25). The shaft of each face bears the ring-chain design, terminating above in a small cross with peculiar lyre-shaped horns at either side. The square, looped, or four-fold ring design is seen in the hollow recess above the remaining arm of one face; it is repeated on the arm, but this looks as if added later. Above the arm is another device which at first sight looks like the square four-fold ring, with two other rings crossing and interlaced; it proves on examination, however, to be a ring so folded on itself as to form seven external loops. Of figures, we have on the one face Odin, nude or in tight-fitting garments, with his spear attacking the Fenris wolf, his raven on his shoulder, knotted serpents all around; on the other face is a man with cross and book, knotted serpents and a fish, which in this case I think must be the well-known Christian symbol.

A large slab at Jurby 93 shows variation on Gaut's treatment of the head—the two bands, instead of passing direct to the upper limb, turning to the right and the left arm, and so from the arms to the upper limb. The shaft bears the double twist and diamond-shaped ring design, which displays several irregularities in the drawing. The space by the side of the cross gives an illustration of Sigurd Fafni's bane. The great dragon is well drawn, decorated with scores which remind one of the wood carvings in Norway. Sigurd, with his sword, is seen in the pit. Below, Sigurd is seen again in conical helmet and long robe, in his right hand a staff, on which, no doubt, was spitted the dragon's heart over flames of fire, now worn away; below, his steed, rather feebly drawn, and a curiously conventional figure of a tree, at one side of which is one of the talking birds. The other face is almost worn away, but shows, above the cross and circle, a badly-drawn figure of a cock. The head of the cross appears to have been decorated in a novel manner with a band of ring-chain design across the arms, possibly crossed by another from the shaft to the upper limb.

The broken Malew slab 94 has on the shaft an effective design of link-twist, the two bands forming the upper portion of which meet about the middle two other bands, which form the lower half, in a figure-of-eight knot. Besides the link form 5 (fig. 27), repeated four times, we meet with a further development, twice repeated, in which the off-shoot springs from the inside of one band to pass downwards, loop round upon itself, and join the inside of the other band. In the lower half the two links are separated by the bands splitting to form two diagonal oval rings interlaced. The spaces at the sides of the shaft are divided into panels. Above, on the left, are the remains of a well-drawn figure of a horse; on the right, Sigurd in tunic, pointed cap, and with sword by his side, roasting the dragon's heart over the flames of fire; below, Sigurd slaying Fafni, looks like a feeble copy from memory of the same scene on the last.

The other face shows on the shaft the figure of a dragon, with fore-paw and top-knot interlaced. At one side of the shaft is an irregular loop form of plait, characteristically Scandinavian.

The broken piece at Andreas 95 shows some affinity to the last in respect of the dragon figures with long top-knots, and in the interlacing, which, however, is purely zoomorphic. Sigurd is shown in profile, in helmet and tunic, roasting the heart of the dragon, and placing his fingers in his mouth to cool. The heart is represented by three rings over three pointed



FIG. 36.—ZOOMORPHIC INTERLACING AND DRAGON-FIGURES.

(1, 2) Maughold 91; (3, 6) Andreas 95; (4) Bride 97; (5) Michael 104; (7) Michael 89; (8) Michael 90; (9, 11) Malew 94; (10) Jurby 93; (12) Michael 101; (13) Michael 105; (14, 16) Braddan 108; (15) Braddan 109.

triangles representing flames of fire arising from the hearthstone. His steed and the talking bird appear at his back. Below, Sigurd, helmed, appears again in the act of piercing the dragon with his short sword. The shaft is occupied by three dragons, with top-knots interlaced,

and scored in such a manner as to suggest a woodwork prototype. The other face shows Gunnar in the worm-pit in tunic and pointed cap or helmet, his wrists and ankles fettered in gyves; knotted serpents around him, one biting his shoulder. On both faces the bands are double-beaded or bordered. The drawing of the figures, the general treatment, and the execution, show this to be the work of a different artist from the last.

The Sigurd fragment found by me in 1902 in the town of Ramsey, Maughold 96, is later work by yet another hand. One face shows a beautiful piece of plait of a broad band in the



FIG. 37.—BIRDS, FISH, AND SERPENTS.

Birds—On the Cross two birds with ring, representing Chaplet, (1) Maughold 72; birds above limbs of cross, (2, 3) Andreas 103; birds above cross, (4) Bride 97; cock, (5, 6) Michael 101, 105; large bird chasing small one, (7) Michael 105; nondescript bird, (8) Michael 105; eagle, (9) Bride 97, (11) Michael 101; raven, (10) Andreas 102; (12) Bride 97; (13) Jurby 99.

Fish—As Christian Symbol; (14) Andreas 102.

Serpents—(15, 17, 20) Andreas 102; (16, 19) Andreas 103; (18) Andreas 95.

form of figure-of-eight, with narrow bands closely interlaced, and a free use of pellets. This combination of broad and narrow bands is very exceptional in the Isle of Man; we meet with it in the Scandinavian cross-slab, Michael 89, and to some extent in the Andreas Sigurd piece 95. The interlacing on the other face is loose and irregular in character, and reminds one of the dragon-face of the Malew Sigurd piece 94, while the ring and rod as a

decorative design just above the salmon might have been suggested by the figure of the roasted heart, as seen on the Malew and Andreas pieces. The interlacing terminates in a large incised volute or double spiral. There is a figure of a man crouching and throwing stones, evidently Loki; beside him the Otter devouring the Salmon. This, which is the beginning of the story, has not been figured elsewhere. Above stands the steed Grani, with the chest containing the gold hoard on his back.

Finally, we have a Scripture scene in the Temptation of Adam and Eve, Bride 116. This has not been part of a cross, but, I think, an architectural feature of the twelfth century built into the early parish church. It belongs to the series of subjects found in the Catacombs and the early sculptured Sarcophagi. The same scene occurs on about twelve Irish crosses and two Scottish; we find it on a stone at Dacre,¹ Cumberland, which Mr. Collingwood and the late Mr. Calverley assigned to the tenth century. Mr. Romilly Allen points out² that in Norman sculpture Adam and Eve are represented as receiving or presenting the apple with one hand, and hiding their nakedness with the other. In our example, Eve holds one hand with the apple to her mouth, and with the other presents an apple to Adam, who stretches out one hand to receive it, hiding his nakedness with the other. A remarkable thing is that in this instance there is no figure of the Serpent. "The woman tempted me," is perhaps the particular text the sculptor sought to illustrate.

So in the latest as in the earliest of our decorated pieces, whilst we recognise the character of artistic treatment general in the British Isles throughout the period to which many of our Manx monuments belong, we see a certain originality, an individuality which distinguishes these from the monuments of the same class in the surrounding lands. This style also obtained much later in the Isle of Man than elsewhere, finally giving place to English art of the thirteenth century.

This exhausts our examples of Celtic art and the Scandinavian development of it in the Isle of Man. If ever we had illuminated manuscripts, or metal-work, such as shrines³ or reliquaries, they have long since been carried away or destroyed; and the total absence of such decorative work in architecture, secular or ecclesiastical, is to be accounted for by the poverty of the land and the unsuitability of material in the Island as well as by the unsettled condition of its people.

SUMMARY

We find, then, that the Scandinavian funeral monuments in the Isle of Man, both as regards the character of the memorial and the mode of decorative treatment, are a continuation of the Celtic system introduced with the Christian religion five centuries previously. Though from Gaut's statement that he made "all in Man," it is evident that he, the first of our Scandinavian sculptors, was not aware of, and therefore owed nothing, to the earlier Manx artists, it is likely that he had seen some of the carved stones in the North of England, and perhaps in Scotland, whence he may have derived the use of the twist-and-ring, a favourite design in his

¹ *Crosses, etc., in the Diocese of Carlisle*, p. 114.

² *Christian Symbolism*, p. 190.

³ According to the Annals of Ulster, the Shrine of St. Dachonna on Inis Patrick, Peel Island, was broken by the Gentiles in 798.—A. W. Moore, *Sodor and Man*, p. 25. We read in our *Lex Scripta* of the "three reliques of Man," but of what they consisted we do not know. See p. 30, footnote.

work, while the ring-chain may have been suggested by the Gosforth cross. Yet his peculiar application of this design, his development of different forms of link-twist and tendril patterns, and in particular his decorative treatment of the head of the cross, exhibit originality and keen artistic feeling. It was evidently to Gaut that his successors owed the ideas of these designs, which became favourite and characteristic of the Manx monuments. The double twist and diamond-ring was probably suggested by Northumbrian work, while the free use of the triquetra as well as other local peculiarities support my view that the geometrical designs on our Scandinavian pieces are for the most part derived directly from early Celtic illuminated MSS. The origin of the figure-drawing is more difficult to determine. It is not from the MSS., though some details, such as the peculiar Manx nimbus on one or two pieces, seem to be so derived. On the Welsh monuments figure drawing is infrequent and very rude. The Irish slabs have none, figures of birds and animals not appearing except on the later high crosses, to the art of which there is no indication that our Manx pieces owe anything. In Scandinavia the drawing is very inferior and rare, while only two or three exceptional pieces are in relief. Nor do I see much resemblance to the figure-drawing on the Viking pieces in the Lake District, which otherwise have much in common with the Manx. Some of the animal forms seem rather to have affinities with the carvings in East Scotland, while many appear to be the original work of local artists derived from direct observation of nature.

As regards execution and workmanship, one notices as a characteristic less regard for accuracy of detail and careful finish, less formality and stiffness, a bolder treatment, and a greater freedom than in our earlier pieces.

The following table, showing the distribution and use of the decorative designs, will be interesting also for comparison with that of the Celtic pieces (p. 35):—

TABLE OF DESIGNS

DESIGN.	LOCALITY.
SPIRAL :—	
Rude scroll	Maughold 72.
Spiral flourishes to interlaced work	Maughold 91, Michael 75, 101, 105, Braddan 108, 109.
Small spirals between bands of twist and circular rings	Bride 97.
Triple divergent spiral	Maughold 72 (twice).
Irregular spiral design	Maughold 72, 96.
Double spiral	Maughold 72, Bride 97 (incised twice).
Double spiral, design of two, face to face	Bride 97.
Double spiral, design of two, back to back	Maughold 72 (recess between limbs).
Volute	Bride 97.
Volutes to shafts of Crosses	Michael 105.
Volutes to limbs of Cross	Maughold 72.
Conventional spirals at junction of limbs of animals	Bride 92, Jurby 98, Michael 100, Andreas 102, 103, Michael 104, 105, Maughold 106, Jurby 107, Braddan 108, 109.
RING :—	
Four-fold ring (square)	Maughold 72, Andreas 102 (twice).
Four-fold and diamond-shaped ring as termination to pattern in limbs of Cross	Jurby 99.
Six-fold ring (square)	Andreas 103.
Eight-fold ring (square)	Andreas 102 (twice)
Two rings linked	Maughold 72 (recess between arms).

DESIGN.	LOCALITY.
RING (<i>continued</i>):—	
Two diagonal oval rings interlaced	Maughold 72 (twice), Michael 74, Ballaugh 77 (twice, as terminations to plait), Malew 94, Bride 97 (irregular), Braddan 110.
Same as termination to pattern in limbs of Cross	Jurby 99, Braddan 108, 110.
Diagonal oval rings forming knot	Jurby 99.
Two rings interlaced (square)	Bride 97, Andreas 103.
Two rings interlaced, one with middle tongue or buckle	Andreas 103.
Circular rings interlaced	Braddan 110.
Diagonal oval rings interlaced with square or diamond-shaped ring	Michael 104 (four times), Andreas 73 (in termination to limbs of Cross), Michael 74 (head), 101 (arms).
Knot composed of circular ring and loop	Andreas 102.
Knot composed of circular ring and figure of eight	Bride 97 (twice).
Design of two pairs of oval rings with diagonal bars	Maughold 96 (broken), Bride 97.
Triangle	Bride 97 (three times).
Triquetra	Maughold 72, Bride 97 (five times besides one probably flaked off), Michael 101, 105 (four times).
Circular design of four continuous triquetras	Michael 104 (four times), 105 (twice).
Triquetra knot	Michael 101, Jurby 107, Ballaugh 77 (terminating designs in limbs of Cross).
Triquetra knot with tendril in lower limb of cross	Braddan 108.
Double triquetra knot	Jurby 99 (terminations in limbs of Cross), Michael 105 (twice, as termination to foot of decorative crosslets).
Design of two double triquetra knots	Jurby 99, Braddan 109.
Loop triquetra design	Andreas 103.
Loop triquetra design, with central loop and side-flourish	Andreas 103.
MEANDERING DESIGNS:—	
Incised diagonal scores (from right to left and left to right)	German 81.
Incised curved lines with dots, suggesting twist	Maughold 72.
Chevron	Bride 97, Michael 71 (incised).
Cable moulding	Maughold 72, 91, Malew 94, Bride 97 (five times), Michael 104 (twice), Braddan 108 (on the four edges of the stone).
Cable moulding, ending at foot of Cross in head and tail of serpent	Michael 104.
Cable moulding, flat	Braddan 109 (twice).
Step pattern	Maughold 72 (twice, in ring, and in panel, double-beaded), 91 (circle), Bride 97 (five times), Jurby 98, Andreas 103, Michael 105, Braddan 108 (three times), 109 (four times).
Step pattern, ending in serpent's head	Bride 97.
Key-fret	Maughold 72 (twice), Andreas 73, Michael 75, Ballaugh 77, Jurby 78, Andreas 83, 84, Braddan 86, Bride 92, 97, Jurby 99, Andreas 103.
Angular key	Maughold 72 (four times), Bride 97 (ten times).

MANX CROSSES

DESIGN.	LOCALITY.
INTERLACED DESIGNS :—	
Twist	Maughold 72, Andreas 73, Michael 75, 104 (ring), Braddan 108.
Double twist	Jurby 99.
Twist and circular ring	Andreas 73, Michael 74, 75, Rushen 76 (twice), Andreas 84, Michael 85, Braddan 86, Bride 97 (twice), Michael 100, Andreas 103.
Twist and diamond-shaped ring	Michael 105.
Double twist and diamond-shaped ring	Maughold 82, Bride 92, Jurby 93, 98, Michael 100, 105.
Link Twist :—	
(1) The bands connected by offshoots from inner side of right hand one, passing to the left and upwards to loop on again to band of origin	Andreas 73.
(2) The link passing from the outer side of one band downwards to unite with the other band	Michael 74.
(3) Same as last, but the link passing upwards.	Michael 75, Andreas 83, 84, Malew 94.
(4) Same, but link passing from inner side of one band downwards and then upwards to unite with inner side of other band	Malew 94.
Linked bands converging but not crossing	Bride 92.
Knot formed from last	Bride 92 (twice), Jurby 99.
Tendrill pattern consisting of a twist, with free tendrill ending in a loose coil	Michael 74, Rushen 76, Ballaugh 77, Jurby 78, Andreas 84, Michael 85, Bride 92, Jurby 98, 99, Michael 100, Andreas 103.
Free tendrill ending to link twist	Andreas 73.
Free tendrill to triquetra knot	Braddan 108.
Design of bands converging and diverging, linked together and interlaced with rings	Ballaugh 77.
Ring-chain, formed by interlacing three sets of linked rings	Michael 74, 75, Rushen 76, Ballaugh 77, Jurby 78, German 81, Maughold 82, Andreas 83, Braddan 86, Andreas 87 (worn), Maughold 91, Bride 92, 97, Jurby 98, Michael 100, Andreas 102 (twice), 103, Michael 104 (ring).
<i>Plait :</i>	
Plait-of-three	Maughold 72 (three times), 91 (on circle, ending in serpents' heads, twice), Ballaugh 77, Jurby 78 (circle), Bride 97 (circle).
Plait-of-four	Michael 74, Rushen 76 (worn), Ballaugh 77 (twice), Andreas 83 (probably), Michael 89 (circle), Maughold 91 (circle, twice), Bride 97 (circle), Andreas 103.
Plait-of-five	Andreas 73 (twice), Michael 74, Rushen 76 (worn), Jurby 78, Michael 89 (circle), Bride 92, Andreas (angular) 103.
Plait-of-six	Maughold 91.
Plait-of-seven	Michael 89 (twice), 104, Braddan 109.
Plait-of-eight	Maughold 91, Michael 105 (with breaks).
Plait-of-nine	Bride 97, Michael 104 (with breaks).
Plait-of-ten	Michael 104 (with break).
Figure-of-eight plait combined with link twist	Malew 94.
Figure-of-eight interlacing with broad and narrow bands	Maughold 96.
Figure-of-eight knot	Michael 89.

DESIGN.	LOCALITY.
INTERLACED DESIGNS (<i>continued</i>):—	
Loose, irregular interlacing of broad and narrow bands - - - - -	Jurby 78, Michael 89, Maughold 96.
Irregular plait - - - - -	Maughold 72, 91, Michael 89, Malew 94.
Interlacing (broken or worn) - - - - -	Jurby 79, Michael 85, Andreas 87, Braddan 86, German 88, Michael 90, Maughold 91, Bride 97, Jurby 107.
ZOOMORPHIC :—	
Interlacing - - - - -	Andreas 95.
Plait with serpents' heads - - - - -	Maughold 91 (twice), Andreas 95.
Cable-moulding, with head and tail of serpent -	Michael 104.
Step-pattern, with head of serpent - - - - -	Bride 97.
Dragon, decorated with border lines, toothed, with top-knot and barbed tail, pear-shaped eyes, one hind leg - - - - -	Michael 89 (four times), 90 (broken).
Dragon, crested, toothed, scored suggesting pellets, no limbs - - - - -	Jurby 93.
Dragon as above, but with interlacing, not crested and not scored - - - - -	Malew 94.
Dragons with top-knots and tails interlaced, scored so as to suggest wooden prototype; no limbs - - - - -	Andreas 95.
Dragon with top-knot tail and interlaced bands; one forepaw - - - - -	Malew 94.
Dragon lacertine, pelleted; one fore leg and one hind leg, top-knot interlaced - - - - -	Michael 101, 105 (a pair, tails interlaced in a ring).
Dragons, lacertine, pelleted; top-knot and tails interlaced; one fore leg and one hind leg -	Braddan 108, 109.
Dragon like last, but longer, and without limbs, with band forming a link-twist - - - - -	Braddan 108.
FIGURES :—	
Design of imbricated pellets - - - - -	Jurby 98.
Decorative crosslets - - - - -	Michael 105 (twice).
INANIMATE OBJECTS :—	
Pastoral staff - - - - -	Maughold 72.
Tau-shaped staff - - - - -	Michael 100, 104 (twice).
Trident - - - - -	Jurby 98.
Helmet - - - - -	Andreas 95, Jurby 99.
Club - - - - -	Andreas 103.
Shield (round) and spear - - - - -	Michael 105.
Spear - - - - -	Jurby 93, 98, 99; Bride 97 (twice), Andreas 102, Michael 105.
Spear and sword - - - - -	Michael 100.
Sword - - - - -	Jurby 93, Malew 94, Andreas 95, Jurby 99, Michael 100 (twice).
Sword and Alpine horn (the Giallar-horn) -	Jurby 99.
Knife - - - - -	Bride 97.
Drinking horn - - - - -	Michael 104.
Book and cross - - - - -	Andreas 102.
Book and tau-shaped staff - - - - -	Michael 100.
Harp - - - - -	Michael 104.
Pole and rope with running noose - - - - -	Jurby 98.
Manacles and gyves - - - - -	Andreas 95.
Chest (Fafni's Gold-hoard) - - - - -	Maughold 96.
Flames of fire - - - - -	Malew 94, Andreas 95.
Hearth stone - - - - -	Andreas 95.
Heart of dragon - - - - -	Malew 94, Andreas 95, Jurby 93 (flaked off).

DESIGN.	LOCALITY.
INANIMATE OBJECTS (<i>continued</i>):—	
Tree (conventional) - - - - -	Jurby 93.
Tree with apples - - - - -	Bride 116.
Stones (heaved at the otter) - - - - -	Maughold 96.
Pit, with opening; Sigurd concealed within - - - - -	Jurby 93, Malew 94.
Caldron (?) - - - - -	Bride 97.
ANIMAL FIGURES:—	
Cock - - - - -	Maughold 72, Jurby 93, Bride 97 (twice), Michael 101, Andreas 103 (twice), Michael 105.
Bird - - - - -	Maughold 72, Bride 97 (twice), Andreas 103 (twice), Michael 105.
Larger bird chasing a small one - - - - -	Michael 105.
Eagle attacking man - - - - -	Michael 101.
Raven - - - - -	Jurby 99 (now broken off), Andreas 102 (on Odin's shoulder).
Talking bird - - - - -	Jurby 92, Andreas 95.
Fish - - - - -	Michael 100 (broken), Andreas 102, with collar; apparently the Christian symbol.
Salmon being devoured by otter - - - - -	Maughold 96.
Stag - - - - -	Maughold 72 (twice), Bride 97 (twice), Jurby 98, Michael 104 (twice), Andreas 103 (twice), Michael 105 (four times), Jurby 107.
Hind - - - - -	Maughold 72, Andreas 103.
Hound - - - - -	Maughold 72 (with stags and hind), Bride 97 (four times, with stags, also the hounds or wolves of the Eclipse[?]), Michael 104 (with stags twice), Andreas 103 (twice, also large incised hound), Michael 105 (with stags four times).
Otter devouring salmon - - - - -	Maughold 96.
Incised figure of a great hound - - - - -	Andreas 103.
Horse - - - - -	Maughold 72 (with rider), Jurby 93 (Sigurd's steed, Grani), Malew 94 (Grani), Andreas 95 (Grani), Maughold 96 (Grani, with chest of gold), Bride 97 (but query stag trampling bodies underfoot), Andreas 103 (with rider twice), Michael 105 (with rider twice, and without rider three times).
Ox - - - - -	Andreas 103 (twice).
Calf - - - - -	Andreas 103.
Goat - - - - -	Andreas 103 (twice).
Ram - - - - -	Andreas 103, Michael 105.
Bull - - - - -	Michael 105.
Boar - - - - -	Jurby 98, Michael 100, Andreas 103 (twice), Maughold 106, Jurby 107, Bride 92, forefoot (?) Boar.
Wolf - - - - -	Michael 100 (twice), Andreas 102 (Fenris wolf), Andreas 103 (four times).
Bear - - - - -	Andreas 103 (twice).
Nondescript four-footed animal, crested, with a thick, straight tail - - - - -	Bride 92.
Serpent (Midgarðsorm) - - - - -	Bride 97.
Knotted serpents - - - - -	Andreas 95, 102 (four times), 103 (twice).
HUMAN FIGURES:—	
<i>With long robe:</i>	
On horseback, female (?) - - - - -	Andreas 103.
With nimbus, crutch-headed staff and book - - - - -	Michael 100.
With tau-headed staff - - - - -	Michael 104 (twice).

DESIGN.	LOCALITY.
HUMAN FIGURES (<i>continued</i>):—	
With staff or spear (broken)	Jurby 99.
Bearded, with trident	Jurby 98.
Female, dog-faced, with braided hair (Hyndla)	Jurby 99.
Female offering drinking-horn	Michael 104.
<i>In tunic :</i>	
Man attacked by a bird of prey	Michael 101.
Man, bird-headed, carrying pole with dog-headed figure hanging from end of rope	Jurby 98.
Man, bird-headed, with spear and sword (Odin)	Michael 100.
Man (Sigurd) with sword slaying dragon (Fafni)	Andreas 95.
Man (Sigurd) roasting dragon's heart on wand or spear	Jurby 93, Malew 94, Andreas 95.
Champions (two), bird-headed, with short sword, one upside down	Michael 100.
Man, with sword at side, blowing Alpine horn (Heimdall and the Giallar-horn)	Jurby 99.
Man (Gunnar) in serpents' den, manacled	Andreas 95.
<i>On horseback :</i>	
Man with club	Andreas 103.
Man stag-hunting	Maughold 72, Michael 105 (twice).
<i>Nude, or in tight-fitting garments :</i>	
Warrior in chain-mail, with spear and shield	Michael 105.
Seated harper, belted	Michael 104.
Man (Loki), crouching, heaving stones at the otter	Maughold 96.
Man with spear attacking wolf (Odin and the Fenris wolf)	Andreas 102.
Man with spear attacking stag	Bride 97.
Man standing with spear at side (badly worn)	Bride 97.
Man with knife attacking stag	Bride 97.
Man belted, attacking serpent (Thor and Jormundgand)	Bride 97.
Man bearded, belted (Thor with ox head?)	Bride 97.
Man belted, with book and cross	Andreas 102.
Man with pastoral staff	Maughold 72.
Dwarf, or small figure (? Main coming to rescue of his father, Thor)	Bride 97.
Two dwarfs upholding firmament (?)	Bride 97.
Giant, arms akimbo (Rungni on his shield (?))	Bride 97.
Man with sword in pit (Sigurd)	Jurby 93, Malew 94.
Three bodies, one headless, trampled under feet of horses, or stags (?)	Bride 97.
PICTORIAL.—SCRIPTURE SUBJECTS:—	
Angel	Michael 101.
Christ in Ascension, with peculiar fringed nimbus	Michael 101.
Virgin and Child	Maughold 72.
Temptation of Adam and Eve	Bride 116.

Thus we have geometrical work on our Scandinavian pieces represented by half-a-dozen spiral designs and about fifteen ring patterns, besides seven designs composed of the triquetra, which may be considered as but a ring so folded on itself as to present three outward points; cable moulding is found on six pieces, and bands ornamented with diagonal scores to look like flat cable work occur on three others, while eight more show rounded pellets between raised borders. We meet with step pattern on eight, and the ordinary key-fret, plain or double-beaded, on twelve pieces, while in its angular and crushed forms it occurs on two only—Maughold 72 and Bride 97—on the latter many times repeated. Of plait-work and interlaced

designs, at least twenty-four in number, the most frequent are the ring chain on eighteen stones, and the free tendril pattern on twelve, both of these having been evolved or introduced by Gaut and adopted by his successors; the latter peculiar to Manx monuments, and the former not met with in this particular form, except on a cross at Penmon, Anglesey, and on one at Cardynham, Cornwall.

All of these geometrical designs—some of which, as the series of link-twist and tendril patterns, are of purely local development—are essentially Celtic or Hiberno-Saxon in character, but in execution we note as characteristic of Scandinavian work loose, discontinuous bands, a tendency to loop—different from the loop twists of earlier work, to throw off tendrils and to form links and peculiar buckles. We often find, too, a certain angularity in plait and knot-work, and the former presents a somewhat stiff appearance in the generally very simple and regular manner in which the short diagonal bands cross in parallel lines from side to side of the space to be filled.

On the other hand, variety in these designs is afforded by decorating the bands forming the pattern. This is most frequently done (namely on twenty-two pieces) by a median line, making a double bead; a more pleasing effect is produced in a few later pieces—105, 108, 109—by short median lines, generally at the points where bands cross; or we may have border lines, forming a treble bead—this only on seven stones. Again, we have scores between raised borders, forming diagonal pellets; these readily become approximately circular, and bands so decorated are met with on eleven pieces; simple as it is this ornamentation appears to be peculiar to these Scandinavian monuments in the Isle of Man. There is, further, a slight use of small scores, notches, spirals and flourishes, approaching foliation. Again, monotony is avoided in a pattern of any length, not only by breaks in the case of plait-work, but by varying the proportions of different parts; whether in a key or ring-chain pattern, a twist-and-ring or a tendril design, the points of folding or of bending, of the crossing of the bands, or the spaces between the rings, are never repeated with absolute evenness—the pattern growing looser and larger, sometimes towards the centre, sometimes towards the bottom. And even in the repetition of favourite designs such as the step, the key, the ring-chain, and tendril patterns, there is no monotony; each in some detail differs from the others, the diversity in the terminations of the designs being particularly noticeable.

The whole appearance is rendered more effective by the fact that it is the work of the eye and the hand, not stiffened or weakened by the too obvious use of the rule and of the compass. This applies also to the pre-Scandinavian pieces, in which, as well as in these, we notice further the very slight dressing of the surface of the stone itself, the inequalities of which become subservient to the decoration.

In the Zoomorphic interlacing both the dragon-figures and the discontinuous looping and splitting bands of the plaiting are distinctly Scandinavian in character.

With respect to figures, we find about twenty-four inanimate objects depicted, of which four pertain to ecclesiastics, about eight to warfare and the chase, and three or four to the household. Of animal forms twenty-four are figured: about twelve are wild and eight domestic, one is a nondescript, and one mythological. We note the absence of the attenuated forms of birds and beasts with interlaced limbs and top-knots, which we associate with Celtic art. In Ireland, animal and bird forms in stone are, with three exceptions, confined to the

high crosses, which date from the tenth to twelfth centuries; but the drawing and general appearance of those on our Manx pieces are more nearly allied to the slabs of East Scotland.

Finally, of human figures we have thirty-four on fifteen stones—ecclesiastics, warriors, hunters, and others; besides one or two Scripture subjects, viz., the Virgin and Child, Temptation of Adam and Eve, Christ in Ascension, and the figure of an Angel. These show no special characteristics, and if detached from their surroundings might be taken to belong to Celtic monuments of the period. We see the women and the ecclesiastics arrayed in long robes, the former, according to one figure, wearing the hair in long braids; warriors and hunters wear tight-fitting hose and tunics reaching to the knees, or else chain-mail, as on the Joalf cross, Michael 105, or close-fitting garments of leather, as the harper, Michael 104. The priest carries a curious tau-headed staff; the warrior, helmed and bearing a round shield, carries a spear and short straight pointed sword; the hunter has also a knife or dagger, or is armed with club or stones. The harp shows that the charms of music were not unknown, while the mythological scenes testify that poetry and romance were appreciated; and the monuments are themselves evidence at once of religious beliefs, and of artistic feeling in decorative design and treatment, and skill in drawing and sculpture.

The work on all the Scandinavian, as on many of the later pre-Scandinavian, pieces is in the nature of flat carving in low relief. This is due mainly to the material, the clay-schist not allowing of undercutting or high relief; on the other hand, it lends itself to very fine and delicate work, as in the beautiful Mal Lumkun cross, Michael 104. The general absence of



FIG. 38.—ANIMAL FIGURES.

Otter with Salmon, (1) Maughold 96; Ox, (2) Andreas 103; Calf, (3) Andreas 103; Goat, (4, 5) Andreas 103; Bull and Ram, (6, 7) Michael 105; Ram, (8) Andreas 103; Bear, (9) Andreas 103; Wolf, (11) Michael 100; (10, 12, 13, 14) Andreas 103; (15) Andreas 102; Boar, (16, 17) Andreas 103; (18) Michael 100; (19) Jurby 98; Hound, (20, 22) Andreas 103; (21, 23) Bride 97; (24) Maughold 72.

panel arrangement in the Scandinavian work allows greater freedom in the treatment, which, on the whole, is bolder and more effective than the earlier work. The geometrical designs are of considerable variety, and well executed, but I cannot agree with Cumming (*Manx Society*, vol. xv., p. 11) that "the attempt of the Manx artists to draw animals in their natural form was a miserable failure," or that "in this respect the Manx cross-makers came very far behind their fellow-craftsmen in Scotland and Ireland." The drawing is unequal, but the average is

certainly as spirited and as excellent as that of their fellow-craftsmen in Scotland, Ireland, or elsewhere.

If the Scripture subjects so frequently met with on the high crosses of Ireland are but feebly represented in the Isle of Man in one or two examples only, we have what is of equal interest and of greater rarity in the figures and scenes illustrative of the Old Norse and Viking mythology. Odin, Thor, and Heimdall, the Fenris Wolf and the Mid-garðsorm, are unmistakable; so are the characters in the old story of Sigurd and the dragon Fafni, with his gold hoard, among which we recognise Loki and the Otter, Sigurd and Fafni, Gunnar in the Worm-pit, the steed Grani with the treasure chest, and the Talking Birds. Details such as



FIG. 39.—STAGS, HOUNDS, AND HORSES.

(1) Michael 104; (2, 3, 4, 5, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21) Michael 105; (6, 10, 14, 23) Andreas 103; (7, 8) Bride 97; (9) Jurby 98; (11, 12, 13, 22) Maughold 72; (15) Maughold 96; (16) Malew 94.

Sigurd in the pit, through the open mouth of which he strikes at the heart of the crawling Dragon, and Loki heaving huge stones at the Otter, are here met with for the first time; while the artist's treatment of Heimdall blowing his long horn, Thor slaying the World-dragon, and Odin, Raven on shoulder, spearing the Fenris Wolf, are as spirited as they are original.

Regarding the whole series of these monuments, therefore, Celtic and Scandinavian, from the point of view of their decorative art, we find much to admire. Our Manx pieces exhibit a distinct local individuality; their execution compares favourably with that of similar work elsewhere; while true artistic feeling is shown in their general decorative treatment. All who study them and compare them must recognise that Miss Stokes' opinion, based on bad

illustrations,¹ that in due restraint and artistic feeling the Manx stones "are so deficient as compared with the work upon the slabs of Clonmacnois and Durrow," is by no means borne out by a fuller knowledge of the subject.

The more elaborate ornamented pieces date from towards the end of the tenth to the beginning of the thirteenth century, and the art displayed is a continuation of that of a rather earlier period in Great Britain and Ireland, "a variety," to quote the words of Mr. Romilly Allen, "of the Lombardo-Byzantine style which existed in Italy, Gaul, and Britain from, say, 600 to 900, modified in each different country according to the artistic capacity of the inhabitants, and in Britain considerably influenced by the late Celtic or 'La Tene' flamboyant ornament of the Pagan period."²

We ought to appreciate these monuments the more highly since not only have we in the Isle of Man a total absence of such decorative work in our architectural remains during that lengthy period, but we possess no illuminated manuscripts, no articles in metal, wood, or any other material—these are our sole memorials of early Christian art, and as such must have for us a very special value.

Not only do they appeal to Manxmen as examples of native art in past ages of which we

have reason to be proud, but they deserve careful study, inasmuch as these patterns and designs are well adapted for decorative work generally, whether in architecture, sacred and secular,



FIG. 40.—HUMAN FIGURES ON SCANDINAVIAN PIECES.

Man robed, (1) Michael 100; (2, 3) Michael 104; Woman, (4) Jurby 99; (5) Jurby 98; Man in Tunic, (6) Jurby 93; (7) Malew 94; (8, 9, 10) Andreas 95; (11) Jurby 98; (12, 13, 14) Michael 100; (15) Michael 101; (16) Jurby 99; Man nude, or in tight-fitting garments, (17) Michael 104; (18, 22) Andreas 102; (19, 20, 23, 24, 25) Bride 97; (21) Jurby 93; (26) Maughold 96.

¹ *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii., p. 155.

² *Cornish Crosses* (A. G. Langdon), p. 349.

in metal and woodwork, in illuminated documents, in glass, or in needlework. The present volume, with its illustrations showing and explaining these designs, may help to make them better known and understood; and now that the complete series of casts of our sculptured and inscribed stones is arranged and exhibited in the Manx Museum temporarily located in Castle Rushen, it is easy for anyone to examine them, and to study how that art which flourished in our Island from eight hundred to a thousand years ago might be still further developed and applied to modern purposes.





OGAMS

THE oldest inscriptions in the Isle of Man are some in Ogam characters found in the parishes of Rushen and Arbory, which belong probably to the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century, and form a link between our Pagan and Christian monuments.

The origin of Ogams, even the meaning of the word, is still involved in obscurity. Dr. Taylor¹ most ingeniously argued in favour of their development from Runes of an early type, but it seems more likely that some of the later crypt-runes may have been affected by Ogam influence. The latest attempt at a comprehensive account of their origin is the article by Principal Rhys in the last edition of *Chambers' Encyclopædia*.² In his opinion, "the most probable theory is that which regards the Ogam alphabet as invented during the Roman occupation of Britain by a Goidelic grammarian who had seen the Brythons of the Roman province making use of Latin letters." The Celts had probably been in the habit of setting up stones to mark the tombs of their great men, but it was presumably from the Romans they learned to inscribe them. Professor Rhys agrees with the theory that the inventor took a hint from a habit of scoring for the purpose of counting, and that the letters of his first group were in fact the initials of the first five numerals.

The use of these characters is peculiar to the British Isles. The distribution, language, and grammatical forms of the inscriptions point to South Wales or Ireland as their place of origin, probably about the fourth century. On phonetic grounds, Professor Rhys thinks the inventor lived in or had visited South Wales, belonging probably to the race of invaders from the South of Ireland.

¹ *Greeks and Goths: A Study on the Runes*. By Isaac Taylor, LL.D., etc. Macmillan & Co., 1879.

² *s.v.* "Ogam." The article closes with a full bibliography, not alone noting Brash's most comprehensive work (1879), Westwood's *Lapidarium*, Hübner's *Inscr. Brit. Christ.*, and Ferguson, but also lectures, treatises and magazine articles to date.

About two hundred and fifty of these inscriptions have been met with in Ireland, chiefly in Kerry, Cork, and Waterford; two were found in Antrim 1899. About twenty-seven have been met with in South-West Wales, especially in the counties of Pembroke, Carmarthen, Glamorgan, and Brecon; two in Devon, and one in Cornwall; one, most curiously, at Silchester.¹ In East Scotland—Fife, Aberdeen, Elgin, and Sutherland, and the Northern Isles—fourteen are known; and one on Gighal island, on the south-west. Only three of these, however, belong to the same class of Ogam as those in Ireland and Wales.

The key to the Ogam writing has been handed down by tradition, and, as shown by Ferguson, was known in Ireland within recent times. He mentions among other things the case of a man named Collins, near Old Head of Kinsale, who had his name in Ogam characters on his cart. Being summoned, he was discharged, but recommended by the magistrates to append on his cart-shaft a translation. Used first for scoring on wood and stone, the system was reduced to writing in the book of Ballymote, a MS. of the fifteenth century, which contains among other things a tract on Ogam composed about the early part of the ninth century² (see Plate iii.). The Welsh inscriptions are in almost every case bi-lingual, a Latin one corresponding to that in Ogam; this first led our scholars to the discovery of certain words and forms in constant use, and fixed the value of the Ogam characters.

These characters are arranged in four groups or classes, *aicme*, "kind," or "following," and consist of from one to five scores or notches—"digits"—cut on one or the other side, or across, or upon the angle "arris" of a stone, reading from below upwards. There is a fifth group of diphthongs of later date which scarcely occur on stone, and when any of them do so, appear to have a different value from that assigned in the MSS.—mostly consonantal. We have none of these in our Manx inscriptions.

When reduced to MS., the arris of the stone pillars was represented by a line placed horizontally, the scores being thus above and below, instead of at the left and right sides respectively of the stem-line, while short vertical strokes across the line took the place of the notches or dots forming the vowels. This later form, styled by Ferguson "scholastic Ogam," is that almost invariably used in the Pictish inscriptions of the north-east of Scotland and the Northern Isles (fig. 41).³

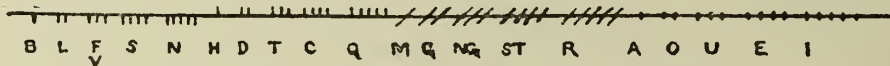


FIG. 41.—OGAM ALPHABET AS USED ON MANX MONUMENTS.

We have an interesting example on the Mal Lumkun Cross, Michael 104, on the face of which, to the right below the shaft of the cross, I long since discovered the Ogam alphabet very faintly scored and marked with binding lines after the manner of Pictish Ogam. On the other face of the stone, between two inscriptions in Runes, has been another in Ogam, now illegible. One other and still later instance we have on the small Maughold piece carved

¹ Mr. Nicholson, *Keltic Researches*, p. 16, reads this (Ma)ui Muco(i) Ebicato(s), adding that it "is purely Goidelic," and, with this exception, he points out, "no Ogam inscription has ever been found in these isles outside territory which is known to have been once in Goidelic occupation."

² Folios 308-314 of the Autotype Edition, Dublin, 1887. See also Brash, plates i. and ii.

³ Taking these characters from the left to right, they occur in our Manx inscriptions the following number of times:—

1, 2, 3, 2, 4, 0, 4, 1, 3, 4, 6, 2, 0, 0, 1, 13, 7, 4, 1, 7.

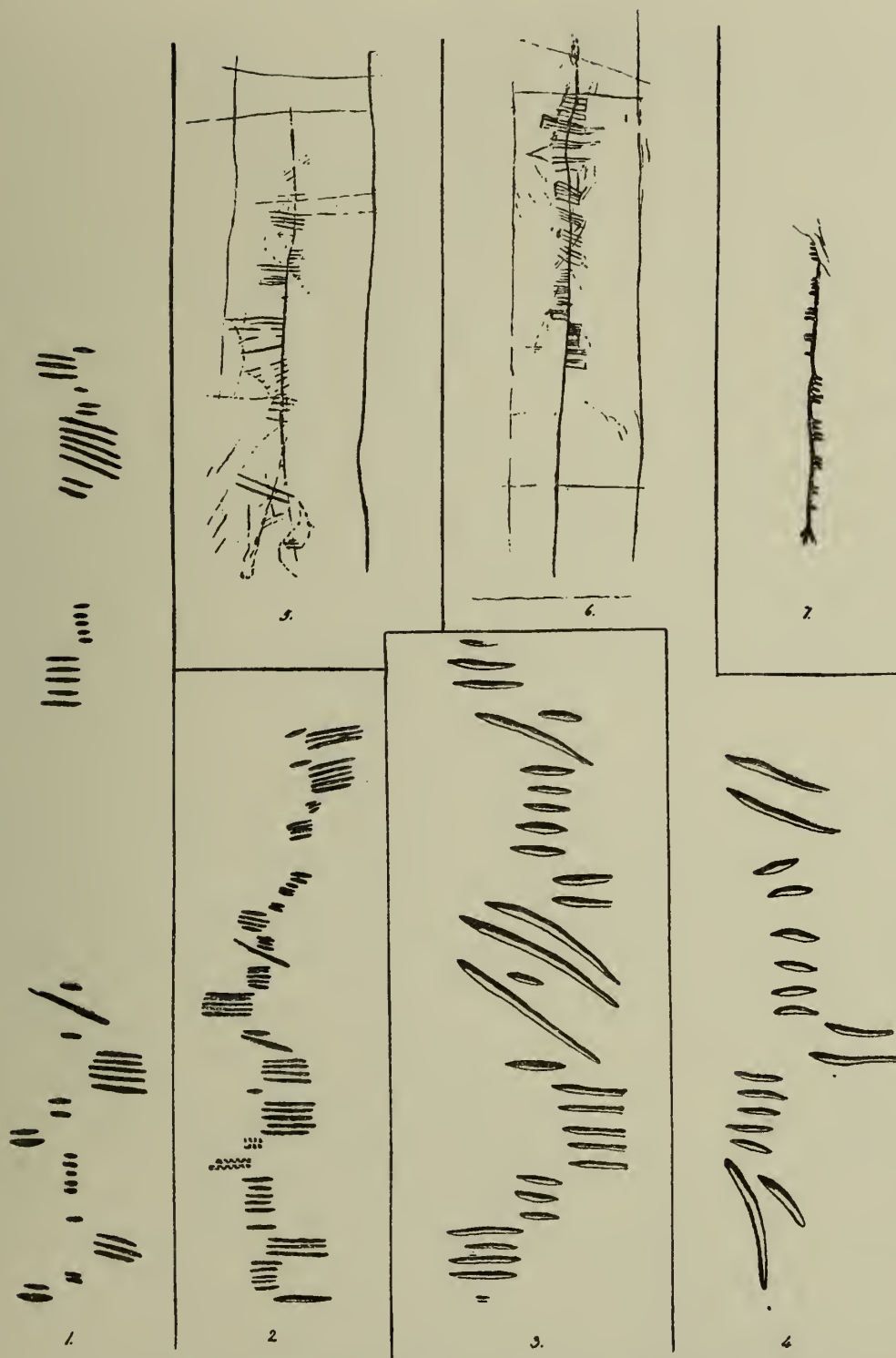


FIG. 42.—FACSIMILE OF OGAM INSCRIPTIONS. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$ (nearly).

(1, 2) Rushen ; (3, 4) Arbory ; (5) Michael ; (6) Alphabet, Michael ; (7) Alphabet, Maughold.

by John the Priest, which may be as late as the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century.

I give a facsimile of our Ogam inscriptions, all drawn to the same scale—one-sixth (fig. 42).

1. Rushen [1].

. . . DOVAIDONA MA QUI DROATA.

[The stone] of Dovaïdu, son of the Druid.

2. Rushen [2].

BIVAI[DO]NAS MAQUI MUCOI CUNAVA . . .

[The stone] of Bivaïdu, son of "mucoi" (clan, or gens) Conava[li], *i.e.*, Connell.

3. Arbory [3].

. . . CUNAMAGLI MAQ . . .

[The stone] of Cunamaglus, son of . . .

4. Arbory [4].

MAQLEOG.

The Manx surname, now Clague. Literally, "son of the leech" (physician).

Of the later scholastic or Pictish Ogams we have, on the Mal Lumkun Cross, Michael 104:—

5. An inscription now illegible.

6. The complete Ogam alphabet as shown on page 72, but a free use of binds, and the vowels expressed by digits instead of dots.

Finally, we have on John Priest's stone, Maughold 115:—

7. The Ogam alphabet, broken, plain, and without binds.

LATIN INSCRIPTIONS

Only three inscriptions have been found in Latin—one at Santon and two at Maughold. That from Santon is in debased Roman capitals, with an unusual N, and peculiar form for M. The short Maughold one is in Hiberno-Saxon minuscules, the two R's being bind letters with V and with I. The longest and most interesting is the one discovered by me at Maughold in 1900, in part flaked and broken. It also is in Hiberno-Saxon minuscules, excepting the letters E, N, and T. In the contracted form for Christi, the Greek Rho appears as well as Chi. The O and the C are square.

1. Santon 34.

AVITI MONO

MENTI.

The tomb of Avitus.

2. Maughold 27.

. . X[RI . .] [NO]NEITSPLI EPPS DEI INSUL[S?]

. . . . b, p, a, t.

? [FEC]I IN Χ̄ϱ̄

NOMINE

CRUCIS Χ̄ϱ̄

IMAGENEM.

[In Christ's Name ?]. Bishop of God in the Isle[s] . . .

[I have made] in Christ's Name an image of the Cross of Christ.

3. Maughold 48.

CRUX GURIAT.

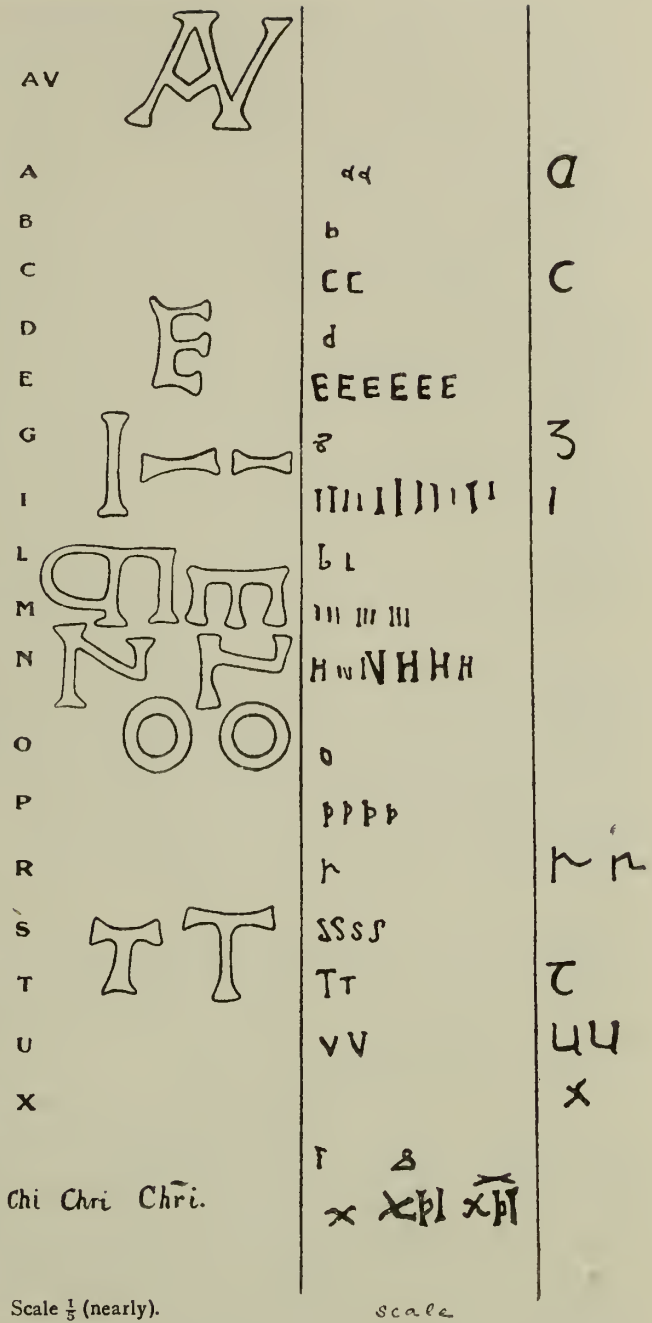
The Cross of Guriat (Gwriad).

As regards the alphabet, the following characters appear in our Latin inscriptions (fig. 43):—

Of these characters, the small *a*, Maughold, with bow in the middle of the stem, is peculiar. We seem to have a somewhat similar form on an early inscribed pillar at St. Bridget's, Beckermet (see *Early Crosses, etc., Carlisle*, p. 26). The large E is unusual in Irish inscriptions, and *z* appears to be unique. The nearest approach to the *q* is on a stone at Llaniltern; it resembles somewhat the form seen in Celtic MSS., e.g., Book of Kells; the H form of N differs from Welsh or Irish examples in having the middle stroke horizontal instead of diagonal, but I find an example of this in the Book of Kells; and the form of the small *p* is unusual.

RUNES

The rest of our inscriptions are in Runes—"that singular Scandinavian alphabet which offers one of the most curious problems in the whole history of the art of writing." Canon Isaac Taylor, in his *Greeks and Goths*, sought to derive these characters from a variety of the Hellenic alphabet used in the Greek colonies on the Black Sea "a century or two, at the very least, before the commencement of the Christian era."¹ The Goths occupying the region between the southern coast of the Baltic and the upper waters of the Dnieper must have obtained a knowledge of the art of writing from the merchants of Olbia and other Greek colonies on the Euxine, who, according to Herodotus, voyaged forty days' journey to the North by the great trade route of the Dnieper.



Scale 1/2 (nearly).

scale

FIG. 43.—LATIN ALPHABETS IN THE MANX INSCRIPTIONS.

Column 1, from Santon 34; column 2, Maughold 27; column 3, Maughold 48.

¹ At p. 39, Dr. Taylor suggests grounds, among others, the retrograde or boustrophedon direction of the primitive Runic writing, to indicate the sixth century B.C. as an approximate date for the origin of the Runes. He derives them from the Thracian alphabet which was identical with that "usually designated as the second alphabet of Ionia and the Isles."

Canon Taylor argues that Dr. Wimmer's views of a Latin origin are impossible, and that it is necessary to allow sufficient time for the gradual development of the Runic as of any other alphabet. As inscriptions have been found which he considers can with a reasonable degree of certainty be dated as early as from 200 to 250 A.D., and others undated are manifestly earlier, and as some centuries would be required for the development and modifications as well as for the diffusion of the Runic characters, he concludes that they must have *originated* considerably earlier than the first century B.C.

This alphabet was employed by the Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Jutes, and Angles, but was supposed to have been unknown to the Franks, the Saxons, the Lombards, and to all the purely German tribes as no certain evidence had been adduced to the contrary; the only inscriptions met with having been on loose objects easily brought from other regions.¹ But Dr. Brate has shown me that some of these objects bear names which cannot be Norse, but are good Old German, so that their Old German origin cannot well be denied.

The numbers, values, and forms of the Runes underwent considerable modifications as time went on, so that the inscriptions of different epochs can be clearly distinguished from one another, and they are classified by Dr. Taylor into three main divisions—the Gothic, the Anglian, and the Scandinavian, the two latter being represented in the Isle of Man.

Dr. E. Brate, of Stockholm, a member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History, and Antiquities, who visited the Isle of Man and examined our monuments in the past summer (1905), has kindly acceded to my request to furnish a short account of the latest researches concerning the origin of Runes, and some introductory remarks on Manx runology, which I have much pleasure in here quoting at length:—

“The derivation of Runes suggested by I. Taylor was not accepted by philologists, the opinion on their origin propounded by L. F. Wimmer in the treatise *Runenskriftens Oprindelse og Udvikling i Norden* (‘The Origin and Northern Development of Runes’) in *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1874, and translated into German and enlarged—*Die Runenschrift*, Berlin, 1887, enjoying general approbation. According to Wimmer, the Runes were modelled on the Latin alphabet at the end of the first or beginning of the second century A.D., in a Southern Teutonic nation, and from that starting point gradually spread to kindred tribes.

“But, strange to say, quite recently science has returned to Taylor's opinion, only his chronology has been considered quite impossible. A Swedish archæologist, Dr. B. Salin, has shown, in a voluminous work, entitled *Die Germanische Thierornamentik*, Stockholm, 1904, that a Teutonic culture developed in the first century of our era on the north coast of the Black Sea and in the adjoining parts of the Russian Empire, which culture, depending on classical models and early spreading towards the south-east angle of the Baltic and later on more to the west and the north, is very likely to have given rise to the Runic alphabet, and carried it along from the Goths to kindred tribes in Scandinavia and the North of Germany, and thence, in course of time, to England and Southern Germany. Referring to the archæological

¹ The reference in Tacitus, *Germania* § 3, “monumenta et tumulos quosdam, Græcis literis inscriptos,” etc., is vague and uncertain, and may well bear the construction suggested by Canon Taylor, that Asciburgium may have meant Riesengebirge on the frontier of Silesia, transferred by Tacitus to the lower Rhine in order to harmonize with the current Odyssean legend, the reports of which he had heard as to the Asciburgian inscriptions.—*Greeks and Goths*, p. 34, footnote.

results of B. Salin, two Scandinavian philologists have derived the Runes partly from the Latin but chiefly from the Greek alphabet—namely, O. v. Friesen, *Om runeskriftens hærkomst* ('On the origin of Runes'), Upsala, 1904; and S. Bugge, *Runeskriftens, Oprindelse og Ældste Historie* ('The Origin and Earliest History of Runes'), Christiania, 1905; introduction to the great work, *Norges Indskrifter med de ældre Runer*, not yet complete, the latter having as early as 1898 ascribed the invention of Runes to the Goths. Dr. O. v. Friesen emphasizes that the Greek cursive hand is the source of Runes, not the Greek letters used on monuments. Professor S. Bugge traces the Anglo-Saxon names of Runes back to Gothic original forms.

"Runes are proved¹ to have been known to most Germanic tribes, partly from inscriptions on loose objects such as brooches, rings, and spear-heads, many of them with linguistic evidence of their having originated in the nation in whose country they are found, precluding the assumption of Scandinavian or English origin, partly from literary testimony of their existence; but Runic stones are only found in Scandinavia, and a few in England.

"The Anglo-Saxon inscriptions in England, those on the Continent, and the most antique in Scandinavia, form an earlier set of inscriptions, the Runic alphabet of which consisted originally of twenty-four Runes; in England the number was increased by four additional Runes. In Scandinavia, again, the number of Runes was gradually diminished, and in the Viking age the alphabet contained but sixteen.

"Among the Manx inscriptions there is only a single one inscribed with Anglo-Saxon Runes—viz., a stone at Maughold. The rest of the Runic inscriptions are of Scandinavian origin, cut by descendants of those Vikings who had settled in the Isle of Man.

"The Scandinavian runologists attribute a great chronological importance to the use of the Rune þ, the inscriptions in which it occurs in the sense of a nasalized *a* being apparently somewhat earlier than those in which it has the meaning of *o*. In the Manx Runic inscriptions also the use of þ may be made a mark of distinction, and the inscriptions divided accordingly into an *a class* and an *o class*.

"The Rune þ is used in the meaning of nasalized *a* in nine inscriptions:—1, Andreas 103 (SONTULF, þONA); 2, Andreas 102 (þO—); 3, Braddan 86 (þANO); 4, Braddan 109 (þONO, FROKA); 5, Braddan 108 (þONO); 6, German 81 (OSRUþR); 7, Jurby 99 (ONON); 8, Michael 74 (þANO); and 9, Michael 105 (þONO, SINO). And though no þ occurs in the inscription, we must add, as belonging to the *a class*, 10, Andreas 73, because cut by the same man, Gaut, as Michael 74.

"In the sense of *o* the Rune þ is used in the following inscriptions:—

"1, Braddan 110 (ROSKITIL, AIþSOARA); 2, Corna, Maughold 114 (OK); 3, Michael 104 (TOTIR, KONA, SON). With them is to be classified 4, Ballaugh 77, the OULAIBR being the name Olave with a nasal *o* in the first syllable, as pointed out by Professor S. Bugge. In one more, 5, Maughold 115, there is no instance of þ in a word, but the inscription is sure to belong to the *o class*, because it is cut by the same man as the inscription from Corna—viz., John the Priest.

"The two inscriptions by John the Priest contain so many startling forms from a linguistic point of view (RAISTI for *RISTI, þISIR for *þISAR, RUNUR for *RUNAR) that it may be doubted whether really the author had mastered the old Norse language; he seems

¹ But see *O. N. R. Mon.*, i., foreword, viii.

rather like a new-comer to the country, doing his very best to conquer the difficulties of language and writing. If he was indeed a native, as most likely he was, however, his irregularities point to an advanced period of the language, and so does his use of the Rune þ for T (KRISþ, BAþRIK, KURNAþAL), but at the same time he knows the proper use of þ (AþANMAN, SAUþAR, þISIR) and of T (BRIST, RAISTI). Professor S. Bugge, who knew but one of these inscriptions, says (*Nordiske Runeindskrifter og Billeder paa Øen Man*, p. 242) that it belongs decidedly to a much later period, and seems to be cut by a man who had insufficient knowledge of Old Norse language and writing, but that the circumstances in finding do not make it suspect to be a modern imitation of the old inscriptions.

“It should be observed that in the inscriptions of John the Priest, late as they are both as regards their forms of words and their way of using Runes, yet the same shapes of Runes are employed as even in the *a* class of Manx inscriptions. The shapes of Runes do not, therefore, of themselves allow of any conclusions as to the chronology of the Manx Runic inscriptions. With the single exception of Michael 104 (see p. 79), the Runic alphabet of John the Priest, Maughold, was used through the whole Runic period of the Isle of Man.

“The characteristic features of that Runic alphabet are the following:—The shape of B is þ, of H þ, of S þ; the runes þ A, O, þ N, þ A, þ T, have their character-strokes on one side only, and the sixteenth Rune of the Scandinavian alphabet is lacking, with the exception of a single remnant in Andreas 87. That þ means H, not E, Professor S. Bugge and Mr. Kermodé have found independently.

“Already in his interpretation of the Rök inscription (p. 106), examined as early as 1868, Professor S. Bugge had pointed out the connection between the Runic alphabets of the Rök inscription group in East Gothia, Sweden, the Jæderen Runic stones in Norway, and the Runic inscriptions in the Isle of Man. That result is but corroborated by the discovery in Andreas 87 of the sixteenth Rune in just the same shape as in the Rök group.

“The existence of the sixteenth Rune will support the conclusion of Professor Alexander Bugge, in his book, *Vikingerne* (Copenhagen and Christiania, 1904), p. 197, that East Gothia in Sweden is the homestead of Manx Runes; he suggests that the family of Gaut Bjarnarson, the first carver of Runes in Man, derived their origin from East Gothia. The Norse language needed not the sixteenth Rune as all the rest of the Manx inscriptions testify abundantly. When that Rune, nevertheless, occurs once it must be due to tradition from Sweden, where the sixteenth Rune was necessary for spelling phonetically.

“Swedish tradition can perhaps account for one more strange circumstance in Manx Runic inscriptions. The Old Norse diphthong *ei* is regularly expressed by AI (OULAIBR, Ballaugh 77; AIþSOARA, Braddan 110; FAIRþUR, Jurby 99; LAIFA, Michael 104; RAISTI, Andreas 102, 103, 87, Ballaugh 77, Braddan 86, Bride 92, Conchan 113; RAITI, Jurby 99; RAIST, Conchan 113, German 88; RAISTI, Maughold 115; UFAIK, Andreas 73; þURSTAIN, Braddan 86), but in some few instances it is corresponded to by I (RISTI, Braddan 108, 109, Marown 111, Michael 105; þURLIBR, Braddan 108). It can hardly be doubted that in a Norse country at so early a period the diphthong was still preserved in pronunciation, and if so, it is most surprising to find that diphthong expressed by a single Rune. That singularity would be explained by the assumption that the diphthong *ei* was already contracted into *e* in East Gothia when the Runic alphabet was brought thence to the Isle of Man, as the diphthong is

really in Old Swedish literature, and that accordingly the two Runes AI for the diphthong were replaced as a rule by the Rune I for the monophthong *e*, although now and then by tradition the two Runes AI might be used for the monophthong *e* as well. In Norway a similar influence from a monophthongal orthography is needed in explanation of the monophthongal spelling occurring now and then in the Runic inscriptions of that country, although the Old Norse language persistently retained the diphthong in pronunciation. If the Runic orthography of East Gothia is likely to have influenced the Runic spelling in the Isle of Man, the close resemblance between the Rök group in Sweden, the Manx inscriptions, and those in Jæderen in Norway, suggests the same explanation of the monophthongal orthography in Norway. And it should be borne in mind that the Rök group is by no means confined to East Gothia, although most of its representatives belong to that province: one Rök group inscription is known from Sudermannia, one from Uplandia from the site of the famous seafaring town of Birca, and, finally, one from Gothland, the rich island in the Baltic whose heathen inhabitants 'sailed with merchant-ships to all countries, both Christian and heathen.' The Rök group Runes may be considered, therefore, the prevailing Runic alphabet in the ninth and most of the tenth century in Sweden.

"It is true that there are no inscriptions extant of the Rök group with the monophthongal spelling, but the Jæderen inscriptions in Norway show monophthongs, as has just been shown, and they may be supposed to have been influenced from the Rök group spelling in a time somewhat later than the existing inscriptions of that group. In the oldest inscriptions in East Gothia next to the Rök group the monophthongal spelling is indeed prevailing, and may therefore safely be supposed to have been so some time beforehand.

"Now, if all the Scandinavian Runic inscriptions in the Isle of Man, with the exception of Michael 104, show the same forms of Runes, almost the only indication of chronology left is the circumstance that the Rune þ, which in the earlier inscriptions has the meaning of a nasalized *a*, develops the new meaning of *o* during the course of the Manx Runic period. The same evolution going on in the Scandinavian countries as well, it is rather probable that it has occurred about the same time. For Sweden that time may be inferred to have been about 1050 A.D. If, as has been supposed by Wimmer, *Runeskriftens Oprindelse*, 1874, p. 167, the change in signification of the Rune þ is due to influence from the Anglo-Saxon Runic alphabet, that change must have originated with the Scandinavians in England itself, and it no doubt extended somewhat earlier to the Isle of Man than to far-off Scandinavia, perhaps about 1040 A.D.

"The inscription, Michael 104, belongs to the *o* class, but differs from the others in using the stung-rune þ in the sense of E, by other forms of A, B, N, S, T, as well as by the use of F for the sound *v*, where the other inscriptions use B in accordance with the Rök group, all frequent occurrences in Scandinavian inscriptions later than the Rök group. Professor S. Bugge, *Nordiske Runeindskrifter og Billeder paa Øen Man*, p. 243, gives reasons for the likelihood of this inscription being in Swedish language, whereas all the others are in Norse. This indication of a fresh connection between Sweden and the Isle of Man supports the assumption of earlier influence from Sweden upon the Runic orthography in Manx inscriptions.

"The crypt Rune inscription, Andreas 84, is undeciphered, but is sure to contain some text running much the same as the others. It is kindred to the crypt Rune inscription Maeshowe 22,

which has been interpreted with admirable sagacity by M. Olsen, *Tre orknøske runeindskrifter* ('Three Orkney Runic Inscriptions'), Christiania, 1903, in *Christiania Videnskabs-Selskabs Forhandlinger*. The Maeshowe crypt Runes Professor S. Bugge assumes to belong to the twelfth century; Andreas 84 no doubt belongs to the eleventh century, likely enough contemporary with the *a* class inscriptions, the number of which is greater than that of the *o* class.

"The rest of the inscriptions have no Rune þ, and it cannot, therefore, be decided whether they group with the *a* class or the *o* class. The *a* class use for *o* the Rune U, and so it might seem likely that the inscriptions in which U is used for *o* belong to the *a* class (Marown 111, þURBIAURN; Michael 100, RUMUN); however, this is not quite certain, because Michael 104 (KUþAN) shows that U might occasionally be used for *o* even in *o* class inscriptions.

"The minor details of the language spoken which the spelling of the inscriptions allow of are nearly all collected in the treatise of Professor S. Bugge, *Nordiske Runeindskrifter og Billeder paa Mindesmærker paa Øen Man*.

"Being an Old Norse dialect, the language possessed the diphthongs *ei*, *au*, and no doubt *ey*, although there is no instance left. The words with *ei* are quoted on p. 78; *au* occurs in Andreas 73, KAUTR; Michael 74, KAUT; Michael 105, RAUþA; Corna, Maughold 114, SAUþAR. In AUK, Michael 74, there is probably no diphthong more in the unaccented syllable, but the word is spoken *ok*, like OK, Maughold. Maybe a similar contraction has taken place in OSRUþR, German 81, if Icelandic Asrauðr.

"Before a dropped or still existing *u* the vowel *a* is changed into *o*, which is called *u*-mutation, which sound the inscriptions express by AU, OU, OULAIBR, Ballaugh 77; ARIN: BIAURK, Andreas 103; FAUþUR, Andreas 73; MAUN, Michael 74; þURBIAURN, Marown 111 (but SALU, Michael 74; FAþUR Braddan 109).

"From the occurrence of þ in the sense of nasalised *a* it is seen that the vowel was nasalized after *n* and under the stress before *n*, still existing or dropped, but that nasality is not always indicated.

"In Braddan 110, AIþSOARA shows that after *s*, *v* was pronounced like English *w*.

"In (*hl*), *hn*, *hr*, the *h* is dropped, *vide* NHAKE, Braddan 108; ROSKITIL, Braddan 110; RUMUN, Michael 100. Of the dropping of initial *h* before a vowel, so frequently indicated in Swedish inscriptions, there are no certain instances.

"The lack of the sixteenth Rune and accordingly of the special *r* sound expressed by it in Swedish and Danish inscriptions is an important feature of Norse phonology. The lack of the sound is evident from the replacing of the sixteenth Rune by the fifth *r* in OULAIBR, Ballaugh 77; (B)ETRA, Michael 104; BIARNAR, Andreas 73; TOTIR, Michael 104; AFTIR, AIFTIR, IFTIR, EFTER, in several inscriptions; KAUTR, Andreas 73; FAIRþUR, Jurby 99; JUALFIR, Michael 105; -ISUNR, Conchan 113; LIUTULBSUNR, Ballaugh 77; UTR, Braddan 109; RUNAR, German 81; RUNER, Conchan 113, Michael 85; RUNUR, Maughold 115; SAUþAR, Corna 114; SUNR, Andreas 73, Michael 74, 105; SUR, Bride 92; þURLIBR, Braddan 108; þURUALTR, Andreas 102. After a dental sound *R* would occur even in rather early Swedish and Danish inscriptions, but the rest of the instances quoted will be sufficient to prove the Norse character of the language, and enforce that special explanation of the isolated occurrence of the sixteenth Rune at the end of AFTIR, Andreas 87, which has been attempted on p. 78.

"In the Rök group the sound *v* is expressed by the Rune B, and supposed to be of the same kind as in Spanish *Havana*; it is kept distinct not only from *w*, expressed by U, but from F in the middle of words as well as final. In Manx Runic inscriptions the Rune B is used correspondingly in OULAI BR, Ballaugh 77; HABRS, Braddan 108; þURLIBR, Braddan 108. The accordance in the use of the Rune B makes the question arise: Was that difference between *f* and *v* medial and final still preserved in Manx inscriptions? In the *o* class of inscriptions it was certainly not, for LIUTULBSUNR and ULB, Ballaugh, show B where F would be expected if that difference was preserved. But in the *a* class inscriptions, medial and final F is used according to the Rök rule in SONT: ULF, Andreas 103, and þURULFS, Michael 105; whereas JUALFIR in the latter inscription seems to defy the rule, because in the name Icelandic *Jóalfr*, *b* would be required; *cp.* Germ. *Albe-rich*. But the reading JUALFIR is somewhat doubtful, because some of the traces are rather indistinct, and the name is suspect through its apparent epenthesis of an auxiliary vowel before the nominative ending *r*. On F the lower character-stroke is not well visible, but there has very likely been one. Considering the great distance in time between the Rök stone and the Manx inscriptions, it is hardly to be assumed that the phonetic difference between medial and final F and B, preserved only in the two most antique Rök group inscriptions, should be still existing in the language of the Manx inscriptions. The spelling TUFKALS, Bride 92, points the same way; the Celtic name *Dubh-gall* is not likely to have occasioned the sound *f*.

"It seems, therefore, that the medial and final F in the Manx *a* class inscriptions can only be considered as the first attempts to replace B in that position by F, according to the custom in later Scandinavian inscriptions, which later way of spelling is decidedly represented by Michael 104, LAIFA.

"The inflectional *r* in the nominative singular of masculine words is preserved in KAUTR, Andreas 73; þURVALTR, Andreas 102; OULAI BR LIUTULBSUNR, Ballaugh 77; UTR, Braddan 109; þURLIBR, Braddan 108; -ISUNR, Conchan 113; OSRUþR, German 81; SUNR, Michael 74; JUALFIR SUNR, Michael 105; but lacking in SONT: ULF, Andreas 103; KRIM, Michael 100; KAUT, Michael 74 (the same man's name is written KAUTR, Andreas 73), and, in the same inscription, perhaps SMIþ, which Professor S. Bugge takes to be an abbreviated genitive. Further, there is no ending in ISUKRIST, Conchan 113, nor in KRISþ, BAþRIK, BRIST, in the late inscription of John the Priest. In the feminine þURIþ, Conchan 113, a nominative *r* might be expected, but was early dropped even in Scandinavian inscriptions. The lack of ending is a later feature, occasionally, although rarely, occurring in Scandinavian inscriptions of the same period.

"Of the preposition 'after, to the memory of,' the shorter and older form AFT, IFT, occurs Andreas 73, Braddan 86, 108, 109, Bride 92, Conchan 113, Michael 100, 105, and perhaps Jurby 99, being thus more frequent than the longer form AFTIR, IFTIR, which occurs six times.

"A later feature, again, is that the acc. KUINU, wife, appears in Andreas 103 and Conchan 113; the older form KONA occurs in Michael 104; KUNU, Bride 92 and German 112. In Norway and Iceland, according to Professor S. Bugge, the form *kvinna* does not occur till the fourteenth century."

These interesting and instructive remarks by Dr. Brate leave little to be said.

It will be at once apparent that our Manx Runic inscriptions fall into two very distinct and natural Classes: I., Anglian, of which, however, but a single example has come to light;¹ and II., Scandinavian, consisting of twenty-six inscriptions in the later Scandinavian Runes, one too fragmentary to be read, and one cryptic and not yet deciphered.

Our Class II. consists of two main Divisions, distinguished by the use of the fourth Rune þ, which in some inscriptions represents the nasalized *a*, while in others it stands for *o*. In several of the inscriptions the character does not occur, being in some either broken off or not required, so that one cannot say for certain to which group these belong. As Dr. Brate has shown (p. 77), this use of þ is a chronological test, the sense of *o* being later than that of nasalized *a*, and in the Isle of Man the art characteristics of the pieces accord generally with this view. Yet this rule is not without exception, due in part to the inscriptions being the handiwork of different artists; thus, Michael 104, though belonging to the *o* class, is earlier than Braddan 108, 109, of the *a* class.

In the *a* division, which is the larger, the Runes correspond generally with many in Norway and Sweden of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, but one or two forms are unusual, particularly þ for H, as on the Rök stone, and † for B, instead of the usual Scandinavian ß; as regards R, the fifth Rune, ʀ, is alone used, as already explained by Dr. Brate. Vigfusson, *Manx Note Book*, No. 9, p. 19, says of this: "By this alone the Manx Runes might be recognized at once, and even reclaimed if lost to the Island." Dr. Brate, however, takes a stroke at the end of the inscription, Andreas 87, to be the ancient form (the sixteenth rune), as in the Rök inscription. I took it for the stem-line of an R of the usual form; unfortunately, the stone is broken, but if it is indeed the old form, expressed by a short stem-line ʀ, it is the exception which proves the rule!

In my *Catalogue of Manx Crosses* I long ago suggested that the stung-rune þ must stand for H, and in one of the latest as well as the most recently-discovered of our inscriptions, Maughold 115, I had the pleasure of seeing this opinion confirmed in the Runic alphabet given by John the Priest. It would, therefore, have been so used by him in the Corna inscription 114. Yet both of these belong to the *o* class, and on other grounds can be shown to be among the latest. Otherwise we find the stung-rune for H in Andreas 103, Michael 105, and Braddan 108; as Braddan 109 is by the same artist as the last, it would doubtless have appeared there had there been occasion for its use, and we can infer its probable use in other inscriptions also. But these belong to the *a* class, which other considerations show to be the older.

We see, therefore, that Professor Stephens was mistaken in supposing that "on all the many Manx stones there is no single H" (*O. N. R. Mon.*, i., 145). Vigfusson, also, who did not recognise this H form, referring to the very restricted vocabulary, says: "One visible sign of this is the fact that in the whole range of these Manx Runes there is not a single word containing H. Of course, in Old Norse this letter is found only at the beginning of a word or word-division. The only words in which H was possible in these inscriptions are the names Rumund and Roskel. It had, however, evidently dropped out of the Manx language of that day. Hence the very form of the letter in the Manx alphabet is unknown. H is the form of the ancient Runes; * in later inscriptions; and this latter form was probably in use here."

¹ Another has been discovered since this was written. See *Addendum*.

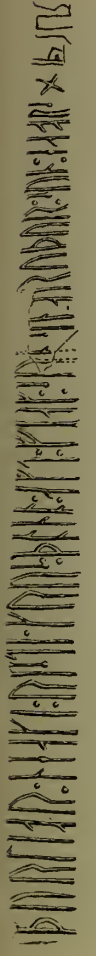
Fragment of a musical staff with a treble clef and several notes. A vertical line extends upwards from the top of the fragment.

A full musical staff with a treble clef, containing a sequence of notes and rests. A small cross symbol is positioned above the staff at the far right end.

17

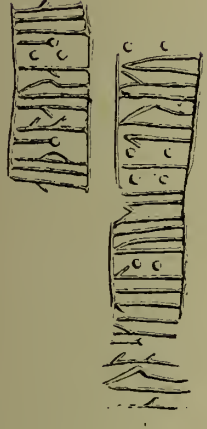
A musical staff with a treble clef, featuring a complex sequence of notes and rests. A small cross symbol is located above the staff at the far right end.

18



19

20

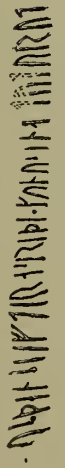


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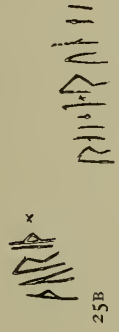
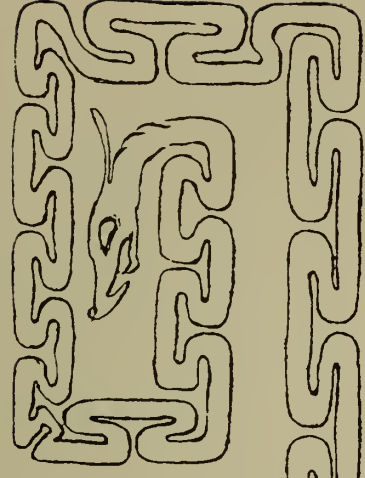
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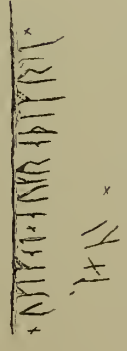
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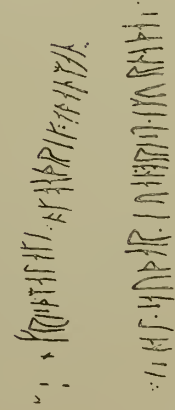
25A



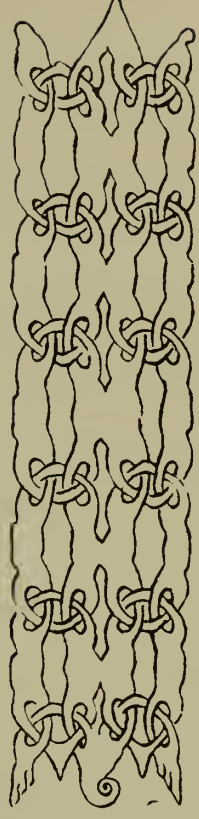
25B



26



27



FUTHORK I [N] I [K] I [N] I [T] I [Y] I
 FUTHORK H N I A S T B M L
 E

FUTHORK OR Runic ALPHABET USED
 ON THE MANX STONE MONUMENTS.

NOTE.—The ornamental designs here used to fill in the spaces are taken or adapted from patterns on the Manx Crosses.

But in some inscriptions we find the stung-rune † used for E, the old form for that letter having died out in Scandinavia before the period of the Manx inscriptions.¹ As the need for H does not arise in these, we cannot say what form that letter took, but it would no doubt be that of the later Scandinavian inscriptions, †. We only meet with this use of the stung-rune for E in Michael 85 and 104, German 112, and Conchan 113. We may, perhaps, surmise its use in one or two others, but the fact of the inscriptions being so short and some of them so fragmentary makes it impossible to classify more clearly by the aid of these two uses of the stung-rune.

The inscription Michael 104 referred to as having † for E, as well as † to signify O—both marks of a later date—is in other respects so different as to have led to controversy as to its relative position in our series. Professor Bugge has explained it by pointing out that this is Swedish, our other inscriptions being Norwegian. In this inscription we find also the forms ȳ (which is in the contrary position to the usual Scandinavian form ȳ), and †, †, †, for S, A, N, and T; presumably we should have had β for B, but in the only instance in which the latter character could appear it has unfortunately been broken off. We find the one form for R as in the other inscriptions.

The language of these Manx inscriptions is a Scandinavian dialect of the eleventh century, and, as mentioned above, Professor Bugge has shown that they are closely connected with those of East Gothia in Sweden and Jæderen in South Norway. They are not so helpful in enabling us to date the individual monuments as might be supposed, but serve as a guide to indicate the relative positions of some of them, and, on the whole, support the evidence of the art characteristics. The general indications of the group also point to a late rather than an early date, and fall in with my contention that the whole series of our Scandinavian pieces, inscribed and un-inscribed, ranges from about the second quarter of the eleventh century to the close of the twelfth.

For convenience of comparison, I here give a Table of all our Scandinavian Runic inscriptions reduced to the same scale—one-eighth. (Plate iv.)

ANGLIAN RUNES

We have a Futhork, or Alphabet, of these Runes on the Thames knife found in the bed of the river in 1857, and now in the British Museum. It reads as follows²:—

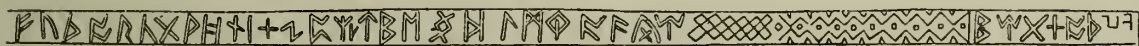


FIG. 44.—ALPHABET OF ANGLIAN RUNES ON THE THAMES KNIFE.

Of these twenty-eight characters we have nine in our solitary inscription—O, K, G, N, I, B, L, M, A. The forms of B, A, and O differ slightly; the rest are exactly the same as above.

¹ “The vulgar Scandinavian alphabet has no E, the M having been laid aside when the futhork was reduced to sixteen letters. The E afterwards introduced, †, when a mark for this sound was indispensable, is the stung-rune.”—*O. N. R. Mon.*, i., p. 142

² *O. N. R. Mon.*, i., p. 362.

SCANDINAVIAN RUNES

Of the many Scandinavian Futhorks which have come down to us, one of about the twelfth century was found in a fly-leaf of a Norse Law Codex, and copied by Ole Worm in the seventeenth century. This is contained in some verses possibly derived from Old English models, given in *Corp. Poet. B.*, vol. ii., p. 369, under title "The Song of the Runes," in which the Runes and their names are given as follows:—

ƿ, Fé, money (fee); ʀ, úr, steam¹; þ, þurs²; ʁ, Óss, oyce (mouth of a river); ʁ, Reið, cart; ƿ, Kaun, blain (this word is explained to have been the Old English "Cæn," a torch, made into a Norse word of similar sound, just as Ós, a god, Anse, is metamorphosed into Óss, an

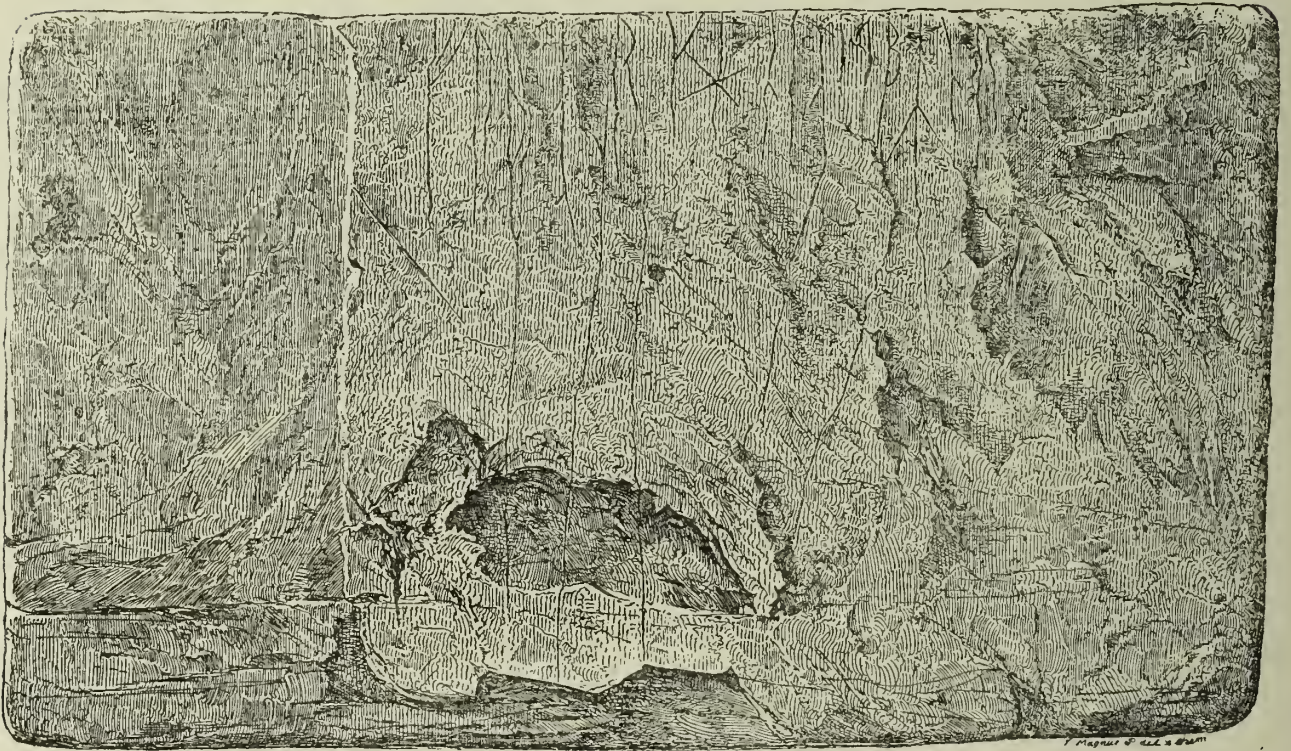


FIG. 45.—ALPHABET OF SCANDINAVIAN RUNES FROM MAESHOWE, ORKNEYS.

oyce, or river mouth); ✖, Hagl, hail; ʀ, Nauð, need; ʀ, Ís, ice; ʁ, Ár, season, year; ʁ, Sol, sun; ʀ, Týr, Tew, "the one-handed Anse"; ʁ, Biarkan, birch; ʀ, Lögr, water, loch; ƿ, Maðr, man; ʀ, ýr, yew.

Among numerous inscriptions in the later Scandinavian Runes in that wonderful mound at Maeshowe, in the Orkneys, which may well have been visited by Vikings passing to and from the Isle of Man, is another twelfth century Futhork scratched or cut with the point of a knife. The characters are long and narrow, but the type is the same as in the Runic song and the forms similar, save that the O has the twigs to the left instead of the right of the

¹ In the Dictionary, Vigfusson renders this word "a drizzling rain."

² "Giant" *Dict.*

stem, the S is a short half-stem, and the T has the twig on the left side only. The upside down M is an artistic variation, and the sixteenth Rune has in consequence to take another form. I here give a reproduction from Stephens' figure, *O. N. R. Mon.*, ii., p. 758, being Farrer's No. 5 and Mitchell's No. 4.

The Manx Runes differ from these mainly in the use of the stung-rune †, which appears in some of our inscriptions for H, in others for E, both the preceding alphabets having the ordinary late Scandinavian H, and neither having a character for E. Secondly, the B which in these Futhorks has the ordinary form, in the Isle of Man takes the form of the O in the Maeshowe Runes. Another special difference is the absence of the sixteenth Rune. Minor differences are that we have the short form of S, as at Maeshowe, except on Michael 104, which shows ʀ in the opposite direction, however, to the usual Scandinavian ʁ, as well as the T of the Runic song and the N and A with twigs across the stem-line, instead of on one side only. Slight modifications of form are due to the different workers, the material, and the tools; they may be thick or thin, close or open, more or less angular or rounded, the character-strokes higher or lower on the stem-line, but the types are the same as above.

Our Manx Alphabet or Futhork, then, reads as follows:—

ƿ	ᚋ	ᚏ	᚛	᚞	᚟	ᚠ	ᚡ	ᚢ	ᚣ	ᚤ	ᚥ	ᚦ	ᚧ	ᚨ	ᚩ	ᚪ	ᚫ	ᚬ	ᚭ
F	U	Th	O	R	K	H	(E)	N	I	A	S	T	B	M	L				

As regards the Cryptic Runes, many and various alphabets are known, some simple, with dots for vowels, letters transposed, and so on; then there are various sorts of Bind-runes—several characters joined together on one and the same stem, as appears to be the case here, Andreas 84. Without a knowledge of the key it is impossible to decipher them.

Besides the twenty-six inscriptions in Scandinavian Runes which have come down to us, it is likely that most of the other (nineteen) Scandinavian pieces have also been inscribed, but if so their inscriptions are now broken and lost to us.

It will be seen that, including our stung-rune, we have only fifteen instead of the customary sixteen characters, and even if Dr. Brate is right in regarding the character on the broken edge of the stone, Andreas 87, as the old half-stem form † for Yr, it is a solitary instance.

Consonants are not doubled: that in some instances vowels are, is regarded by Professor Bugge as a distinct peculiarity of the Manx inscriptions.

† is used in Maughold 114 for Th, T, and D, as we find on the Sundrastone, Gothland (*O. N. R. Mon.*, i., p. 35), and elsewhere.

O.—“The later common Runic alphabet in earlier monuments has no O, but uses U or AU instead.” So in the Manx inscriptions, even of the *o* class, U is constantly used in such words as Thor, also bróðir, fòstra, etc. As already fully explained, this fourth Rune, in the greater number of our inscriptions, stands for nasalized A.

K stands also for G and C, for which latter there is no use in Old Norse.

A.—The form †, which we have on Gaut's cross, Michael 74, is met with on the Ròk stone, and is not uncommon on Scandinavian pieces. †, German 81, occurs now and then in Swedish inscriptions; *cf. O. N. R. Mon.*, p. 135.

T stands also for D.

B stands also for P. In some inscriptions it is used to represent the soft sound of F. This is the most characteristic and distinctive of our Manx Runes. The form is very rare in old Northern or Anglian inscriptions. In Scandinavian Runes it is found at Alvstad and at Næheim, Norway; and at Kålfveston, East Gothland, forming another link between that district and the Isle of Man. On the Rök stone, where also it stands for F, the form is the same, but the twigs are on the right side of the stem, instead of the left.

CLASS I.—ANGLIAN RUNES.

1. Maughold 25.

BLAGKMON.

CLASS II.—SCANDINAVIAN RUNES¹

2. Andreas 73.

. . . þANA : IF[T] UFAIK : FAUþUR : SIN : IN : KAUTR : KARþI : SUNR :
BIARNAR : FRA : KULI.

[A. B. erected] this [cross] to the memory of Ofeig his father, but Gaut Björnson of Cooley made it.

3. Michael 74.

× MAIL : BRIKTI : SUNR : AþAKANS : SMIþ : RAISTI : KRUS : þANO : FUR :
SALU : SINA : SIN : BRUKUIN : KAUT ×

KIRþI : þANO : AUK

ALA : I MAUN ×

The unintelligible *sin : brukuin* Professor S. Bugge takes to stand for (*auk* : *sin(ar) : bru (þur) : kuin(u)* : For Dr. Brate's reading, see under Description of the Monuments.

Mael Brigde, son of Athakan the smith, erected this cross for his own soul [and that of] his brother's wife. Gaut made this and all in Man.

4. Michael 75.

. . . [KRU]S : þNA : AF[TIR] . . .

[A. B. erected] this cross to the memory of [C. D.] . . .

5. Ballaugh 77.

OULAIBR : LIUTULBSUNR : RAIS[TI:K]RS þANA : AIFTIR ULB : SUNSIN

Olaf Liotulfson raised this cross to the memory of Ulf his son.

6. German (St. John's) 81.

IN OSRUþR : RAIST : RUNAR : þSAR × . .

But Ásrøþ carved these runes.

7. Andreas 84.

Cryptic, and not yet deciphered. (See figure, plate iv., 7; and plate xxxvii.)

8. Michael 85.

. . . RU[N]ER . . .

[. . A. B. carved these] runes . . .

¹ In Nos. 3, 6, 9, 12, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, and 23, þ = Nasalized A. In 5, 17, 22, 26, and 27, it stands for o. The others are uncertain. For typographical reasons I transliterate throughout by the letter o.

9. Braddan 86.
 × þURSTAIN : RAISTI : KRUS : þANO : IFT : UFAAK : SUN : KRINAIS
 Thorstein erected this cross to the memory of Ofeig, son of Crina (?)
10. Andreas 87.
 . . . R]AIS[T]I : KRUS : þAANA : AFTI(R) .
 [A. B.] erected this cross to the memory of [C. D.] . .
11. Bride 92.
 TRUIAN : SUR[T]UFKALS : RAISTI KRS þINA : AF [T]AþMIU[L] : KUNU SIN[A]
 Druian, son of Dugald, raised this cross to the memory of Athmaoil his wife.
12. Jurby 99.
 [. . S]UN : SIN : IN : ONON : RAITI : [IFT FAIRþUR : BR . .]
 [A. B. erected this cross to C. D. his] son, but erected another to [E. F. . .]
13. Michael 100.
 KRIM : RISTI : KRUS : þNA : AFT : RUMUN IN ×
 Grim erected this cross to the memory of Hromund his . . .
14. Michael 101.
 . . . KRIMS : INS : SUARTA ×
 [A. B. erected this cross to C. D., his father, son] of Grim the Black.
15. Andreas 102.
 þURUALTR : RAISTI KRUS : þ[O . . .
 Thorwald erected this cross [to . . .
16. Andreas 103.
 SONT : ULF : HIN : SUARTI : RAISTI : KRUS : þONA : AFTIR : ARIN : BIAURK :
 KUINU : SINA
 Sandulf the Black erected this cross to the memory of Arinbjörg his wife.
17. Michael 104.
 MAL : LUMKUN : RAISTI : KRUS : þENA : EFTER : MAL : MURU : FUSTRA : SINE :
 TOTIR TUFKALS : KONA : IS : AþISL : ATI ×
 Mal Lumkun (Mael Lomchon) erected this cross to the memory of Mal-mura his
 foster-[mother] daughter of Dugald whom Athisl had to wife.
 [B]ETRA : ES : LAIFA : FUSTRA : KUþAN : þAN : SON : ILAN ×
 Better is it to leave a good foster-son than a bad son.
18. Michael 105.
 × JUALFIR : SUNR : þURULFS : HINS : RAUþA : RISTI : KRUS : þONO : AFT : FRIþU :
 MUþUR : SINO ×
 Joalf son of Thorolf the Red erected this cross to the memory of Fritha his mother.
19. Maughold 106. This flaked-off fragment shows only the upper third of four Runes.
20. Braddan 108.
 þURLIBR : NHAKI : RISTI : KRUS : þONO : AFT : FIAK : SUN SIN : BRUþUR :
 SUN : HABRS × IHSUS
 Thorleif Hnakkí erected this cross to the memory of Fiac his son, brother's son to
 Hafr. Jesus.

21. Braddan 109.
 UTR : RISTI : KRUS : þONO : AFT : FRO[K]A : [FAþUR SIN : IN : þU . .]
 Odd erected this cross to Franka [his father but Thorbjörn . . .]
22. Braddan 110.
 [. . I]N ROSKITIL : UILTI : I : TRIKU : AIþSOARA : SIIN
 . . but Rosketel betrayed in a truce his (fellow) oath-swearer.
23. Marown 111.
 þURBIAURN : RISTI : KRUS : þ[ON . .]
 Thorbjörn erected this cross [to . . .]
24. German 112.
 . .]US . þENSI . EFTER . ASRIþI . KUNU SINA. [TUT]UR UT[S] . . .
 [A. B. erected] this cross to the memory of Asrió his wife, daughter of Odd
25. Conchan 113.
 . . . SUNR × RAISTI × IF[T K]UINU SINA
 MURKIALU × M . . .
 × UKIFAT × AUKRAþIFR[I]T ×
 . . . × (?) LANI
 [A. B. . .] son erected [this cross] to the memory of his wife Murgial (Muriel) . . .
 Ukifat and Rathfrid ×
 . . . land (?).
 KRU[S]
 × ISU KRIST
 þURIþ × RAIST × RUNER
 The Cross. Jesus Christ.
 Thurith carved these Runes.
26. Maughold 114.
 × KRISþ : MALAKI : OK BAþRIK : AþANMAN . . .
 . . . [II]N AL SAUþAR . IUAN . BRIST . I KURNAþAL.
 Christ, Malachi, and Patrick (and) Adamnan. (But of all) the sheep, John is the
 Priest in Cornadale.
27. Maughold 115.
 [I]UAN × BRIST × RAISTI × þISIR × RUNUR
 [F]UþOR[K]HNIAS TBML ×
 John the priest carved these Runes.

The Runic alphabet, on a line below which is the first half of the Ogam alphabet.¹

Differences in pronunciation, as shown by the spelling, are due in part to differences in dialect of the various Rune writers, and do not in themselves prove earlier or later date. We have in the inscriptions the names of four such writers—Gaut, Osruth, Thurith, and John the Priest. Cumming's Cast shows on a portion of the Braddan cross 109, of which, unfortunately, the original is now broken, the first three Runes and the lower ends of others which might stand for Thorbjörn as the name of another Rune-writer. The Joalf Cross, Michael 105,

¹ Fuller particulars of these Inscriptions, with the readings of former authors where they differ from the above, and translations, are given in the descriptions of the several stones, which are figured also in the plates.

shows some affinity to these, and Cumming thought it had borne in scratch-runes at the foot of the inscription the name of the same Rune carver. One can make out characters for þUR faintly scratched, but they are in connection with others which appear to be meaningless. However, the Mal Lumkun stone, Michael 104, is undoubtedly by a different hand; and other inscriptions showing þ for O, or the stung-rune † for E, must be by yet other Rune smiths. So that these twenty-seven inscriptions represent the work of at least seven or eight different artists, which is rather in favour of the long period over which I think they extend. Speaking of the inscriptions alone, and without having seen those of John the Priest, Vigfusson¹ saw "no reason whatever to suppose that a wider interval than sixty years existed between the earliest and the latest," and this period he took to be between 1170 and 1230. I think that having regard to the peculiarities of the inscriptions, the art characteristics of the monuments, and what we know of the history of the times, we must take the earliest to be from 1040 to 1060, and the latest about 1200; the greater number of them perhaps from 1080, the time of Godred Crovan, to say 1140.

It is interesting to note that not only the characters and the language are Scandinavian instead of Latin, as was customary in Christian epitaphs of the period, but the very formula is derived not from a Christian source, but from the heathen monuments of the sculptors' former homes.² Substitute the word "stone" for "cross," and we have the usual form on early Scandinavian heathen monuments. Eighteen have the same simple wording: ". . . erected this cross to the memory of . . ."; two, and probably the broken one, Michael 85, read "cut these Runes." One—Michael 104—contains a proverbial saying: "It is better to leave a good foster than a bad son." The late Maughold piece 114 commences with an invocation to Christ and to favourite Irish saints. Michael 74—"for the good of his own soul," etc.—though not common, can be matched elsewhere. The Braddan fragment 110 may have commenced in the customary manner, but adds a curious piece of personal history.

Though no political event is commemorated, nor can any of the names be identified as belonging to persons known in history, the inscriptions are not without interest as throwing some light on the period covered by them. They give an indication of the district whence our Rune cutters and sculptors, and, therefore, probably many of our Scandinavian settlers, originally came—namely, East Gothia, in Sweden, and the South of Norway. They show, among other things, the gradual fusion of the two races. A Celt, possibly a Pict—Druian, the son of a Celtic father Dugald—set up a cross to his wife, who bears a Celtic name; the Runic inscription implies that he spoke Norse, and he must have held a good position and have had means to erect so costly a monument; his name is still connected with an estate or quarterland in Kirk Bride. A Norseman, Thorleif, commemorates a son bearing a Celtic name, Fiac, no doubt having had a Celtic mother. A man with a Celtic name, Mael Brigde, had a handsome cross carved for the good of his soul by the first and greatest of our Scandinavian sculptors; he must have been one of the ruling class—a man of position and influence.

¹ The *Manx Note Book*, January, 1887.

² Possibly the idea of cutting the Runes up the edge of the stone may have been suggested by the older Ogam inscriptions. In Scandinavia the Runes were cut on the face of rocks and boulders, and in the eleventh century often on conventionally drawn bodies of dragons.

We find women as well as men as sculptors, at all events as Rune cutters. Altogether we have forty-two personal names, besides two nicknames, Rauthi and Suarti. Of these, besides one earlier Anglo-Saxon, twenty-six and the two nicknames are Scandinavian, at least twelve are Celtic, and the rest may perhaps be Celtic or Pictish. Of the seven women's names only three are Celtic, implying that the Norsemen now had come to Man as settlers, not freebooters.

Besides the name of the Island, Maun, two place-names are mentioned, and they remain to this day—Kuli, probably Cooley in Michael, and Kurnadal, now Corna, Maughold. Glentruan, Kirk Bride, also perpetuates a name on a cross there—Druian.

VOCABULARY

(The first number refers to the inscriptions as previously given; the numbers in brackets to those of the monuments as given throughout in the body of this work. See also the List of Stones at the beginning of this volume.)

- A. ár, year, † in all except 8, which is broken; †, 3; †, 6; †, 16.
1. Aðisl: A†ISL, 17 [104]. S. m. nom. sing. Norse man's name. Vigfusson thought it very rare, but I am informed by Dr. Brate that "Lind, Norsk-islandske dopnamn frå medeltiden," the first sheet of which is just published, mentions several Aðils, one of them Aðils Breta jarl, tenth century. Bugge, p. 244, says the name is Swedish and Danish.
 2. Adamnan: A†ANMAN, 26 [114]. S. m. nom. sing. Celtic man's name, the pronunciation of which was finally corrupted into Onon. Hence possibly Keeil Onon, now Kirk Lonan. It here certainly refers to the St. Adamnan, born in Ireland about 624, Abbot of Iona 679, died 703 or 704.
 3. Aedacán: A†AKANS, 3 [74]. S. m. gen. sing. Celtic man's name. "The Irish Aedacán, now Egan" (Stokes).
 4. Áleifr: OULAIBR, 5 [77]. S. m. nom. sing. Norse man's name, Olave.
 5. allr: ALA, 3 [74]. Adj. m. acc. pl., All. AL. 26 [114]. Abbreviated gen. pl. (?).
 6. Annarr: ONON, 12 [99]. Adj. m. acc. sing. Another.
 7. Arinbjörg: ARIN: BIAURK, 16 [103]. S. fem. acc. sing. Norse woman's name. From Örn, arnar, an eagle, and Björg, help, deliverance. So, Ingibjörg, þorbjörg, etc. *Landnáma*¹ has the form Arnbiörg (ii., 3, 5). Arnburk occurs on a stone at Gryta.
 8. Ásrøðr: OSRU†R, 6 [81]. S. m. nom. sing. Bugge quotes the name *Ásrøðr* from *Landnáma*, iv., 3 (Isl. ss. I. 245), and takes it to have originated from *Ásfrøðr*.
 9. Ás(t)ríðr: ÁSRI†I, 24 [112]. S. fem. acc. sing. Norse woman's name, Asrith. Áss, Æsir, gods, as a prefix to proper names seems to refer to Thor, not Odin: Ásbjörn = þorbjörn, Ásmódr = þormodr. In Scandinavian proper names, Áss before the liquid "r" assumes a "t," and becomes ast, Ástríðr (*Landnáma*, iv., 5).
 10. A†mhaoil (?): A†MIUL, 11 [92]. S. fem. acc. sing. Woman's name. Celtic (?). Is this a form of the name MacCathmaoil (Anglicized, MacCowell) found in Four Masters? Cowell is a well-known Manx name at the present day, and an estate—Ballacowle—is close by the church where this stone was found.

¹ My references to *Landnáma* are taken from *Origines Islandicæ*, Vigfusson and York Powell.

- B. bjarkan: birch. Used also for P, †, 2, 3, 5, 12 (Cumming's cast), 17, 20, 22, 26, 27.
11. Betri: [B]ETRA, 17 [104]. Adj. comp. nom. sing. n. Better.
12. Björn: BIARNAR, 2 [73]. S. m. gen. sing. Norse man's name. Björn, bjarnar, a bear. Frequent also as prefix and as suffix in compound names.
13. bróðir: BR . . ., 12 [99], now lost, but appears on Cumming's cast. S. m. acc. sing. Brother.
BRUKUIN, 3 [74], according to Bugge,¹ for bruþur kinu—"brother's wife."
14. Bróðursunr: BRUþUR: SUN., 20 [108]. S. m. nom. sing. Brother's son, nephew.
- C. See K, †, 2, 9, 11.
15. Cooley: KULI, 2 [73]. S. dat. sing. Celtic place name. Perhaps refers to Cooley, Michael.
16. Crina (?): KRINAIS, 9 [86]. S. m. gen. sing. Man's name, probably Celtic.
- D. See T, †, 16; †, 11, 24; †, 27.
There is no stung-rune for D.
17. Dalr: þAL. In the name KURNAþAL, 26 [114]. S. m. dat. sing. The old Dat., dali, used only in the oldest writers in Iceland, as Ari, 1067-1148.
18. dóttir: TOTIR, 17 [104]. S. fem. nom. sing. for acc. sing. Daughter.
[TUT]UR, 24 [112]. Acc. sing.
19. Druian: TRUIAN 11 [92]. S. m. nom. sing. Celtic man's name, surviving in place-name: Glen truan, Kirk Bride.
20. Dufgal (Dugal): TUFKALS, 11 [92], 17 [104]. S. m. gen. sing. Celtic man's name from *dubh-gall*, black stranger.
- E. Stunginn Íss.—See I.
†, 8, 16, 24, 25.
"The common Scandinavian Runes have no character for E, but mark it either (AI), IA or I, and still later . . . Stunginn Íss †."—*Icel. Dict.*, Cleasby and Vigfusson.
21. Eft (an older form of Eftir): AFT, 11 [92], 13 [100], 18 [105], 20 [108], 21 [109].
IFT, 2 [73], 9 [86], 12 [99]? 25 [113].
22. eftir: AFTIR, 4 [75], broken, 16 [103]; AFTIR, 10 [87]; AIFTIR, 5 [77]; EFTER, 17 [104], 24 [112]. Prep. after. Here, as generally in Runic inscriptions, used in the sense of "to the memory of."
23. eiðsvari: AIþSOARA, 22 [110]. S. m. acc. sing. Oath-swearer; a confederate; one bound by oath.
24. eiga: ATI, 17 [104]. V. pret. 3 pers. sing. for átti. To have, possess. "In a special sense eiga konu, to have her to wife."
25. en: IN, 2 [73], 6 [81], 12 [99], 21 [109], now broken off, 22 [110]. Conj. But.
[II]N? 26 [114]. Old Norse *en*, old Swedish *æn*.
26. es: IS, 17 [104]. Indec. particle used as a relative pronoun, Es, old form of ER.
Whom.
- F. fé, fee (money), †. 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 24, 25.
27. Faðir: [F]Aþ[UR], 21 [109]. FAUþUR, 2 [73]. S. m. acc. sing. Father.

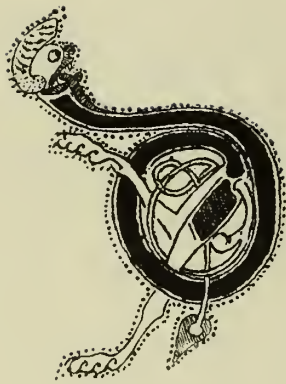
¹ Dr. Brate does not accept this reading, however. For his remarks, see under Description of the Monuments, Michael 74.

- 27A. FAIRþUR, 12 [99], now broken off the stone, but clear on Cumming's cast. Probably a man's name.
28. Fiàcc: FIAK, 20 [108]. S. m. acc. sing. Celtic man's name. Irish, Fiacc or Fiacha.
29. fóstira: FUSTRA, 17 [104]. For FUSTRU S. fem. nom. used for acc. sing. Foster- (mother).
30. fóstiri: FUSTRA, 17 [104]. S. m. acc. sing. Foster-(son).
31. frá: FRA, 2 [73]. Prep. From.
32. Frakki: FROKA, 21 [109]. S. m. acc. sing. Man's name. Occurs once in Icelandic place-names, Frakka-nes. Same as the Anglo-Saxon Franca.
33. Friða: FRIþU, 18 [105]. S. fem. acc. sing. Norse woman's name. Fritha, *Friðr* Peace. A pet name from women's names, like Holm-friðr.
34. fyr: FUR, 3 [74]. Prep. For. Icelandic *fyr*, old form of *fyrir*.
- G. See K, †, 2, 3, 12, 13, 16, 25.
35. Gautr: KAUTR, 2 [73]. KAUT, 3 [74] (terminal R omitted). S. m. nom. sing. Norse man's name, Gaut. A poetical name of Odin; seems to mean "father." Gautr occurs in *Landnáma*, iii, 6.
36. gera: KARþI, 2 [73]; KIRþI, 3 [74]. V. pret. 3 pers. sing. Both spellings are by the same sculptor, Gaut. The usual form in Runic inscriptions for gerþi, from gera, to make, to work.
37. góðr: KUþAN, 17 [104]. Adj. m. acc. sing. For góðan. Good.
38. Grimr: KRIM, 13 [100]. S. m. nom. sing. KRIMS, 14 [101], gen. sing. Norse man's name. Grima, a hood.
- H. hagall, hagl, hail. For this character several of our inscriptions use the stungin íss, † as in the Swedish Rök inscriptions, for †, which latter is the usual form in Scandinavian Runes. †, 17, 18, 20, 26.
39. Hafr: HABRS, 20 [108]. S. m. gen. sing. Norse man's name. From Hafr, a he-goat. *Landnáma*, iii, 12.
40. hinn: HIN, 16 [103]. Distinguishing adjective, m. nom. sing. The HINS, 18 [105]. INS, 14 [101]. M. gen. sing.
41. Hnakki: NHAKI, 20 [108]. S. m. nom. sing. Norse man's name, "Neck." In Norway this is a personal name, in Sweden a surname.
42. Hrossketill: ROSKITIL, 22 [110]. S. m. nom. sing. Norse man's name. *Landnáma*, iii, 7, Hrosskell.
43. Hrómundr: RUMUN, 13 [100]. S. m. acc. sing. Norse man's name. Occurs in *Landnáma*.
- I. (J.) ís, ice, †.
- Occurs in all except 8, from which it has been chipped off, and the small fragment from Maughold 19.
44. Í: I, 3 [74], 22 [110], 26 [114]. Prep. In.
45. Jesus: IHSUS, 20 [108]; partly Runes, partly Roman. ISU KRIST, 25 [113]. S. m. nom. sing.
46. íllr: ILAN, 17 [104]. Adj. m. acc. sing. Ill, bad, evil.
47. Jóalfr: IUALFIR, 18 [105]. S. m. nom. sing. Norse man's name.

48. Jóan: IUAN, 27 [115]. S. m. nom. sing. Scripture man's name, among the Northmen early adopted from England, and in the eleventh century written Ióan. John.
- K. kaun: ꝥ on all but 4, 6, 8, 12, and 19, from which it is now broken off. See also C, G.
49. Kona: KONA, 17 [104]. S. fem. acc. sing. For konu, wife.
KUNU, 11 [92], 24 [112], KUINU, 16 [103], 25 [113] (in "BRUKUIN," for bruþur kuinu)? 3 [74].
50. Kornadal: KURNAÐAL 26 [114]. S. dat. sing. Place-name, now Corna. We read of Thorkell and Thorberg, Corna-múle, *Landnáma*, i., 10, 7.
51. Kristr: KRIST, in ISU KRIST, 25 [113]. S. m. nom. sing. Christ. KRISþ, 26 [114]. Voc. sing.
52. Kross: KRUS 3 [74], [86], [87], [100], [102], [103], [104], [105], [108], [109], [111], . . . US [112]; . . . S, 4 [75]; KRS. 5 [77], [92]. S. m. acc. sing. Cross. KRUS [113], nom. sing.
- L. lögr, lake, þ, 1, 2, 3, 5, 11, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 23, 25, 26, 27.
53. Land: LANT (?) 25 [113]. S. n. sing. Land.
54. leifa: LAIFA 17 [104]. V. infin. To leave.
55. Ljótulfr: LIUTULBSUNR, 5 [77]. S. m. nom. sing. The son of Liótulfr. Norse man's name. Liótulfr, *Landnáma*. Also Ulfiotr.
- M. maðr, man, ʝ, 3, 11, 13, 14, 16, 18, 25, 26, 27.
56. Mael Brighde: MAIL: BRIKTI, 3 [74]. S. m. nom. sing. Celtic man's name. Local modern form, Bridson.
57. Mael Lomchon: MAL: LUMKUN, 17 [104]. S. m. nom. sing. Celtic man's name.
58. Maelmuire: MAL: MURU, 17 [104]. S. fem. acc. sing. Celtic woman's name, Malworry, Morrison. For prefix Mael to a woman's name, compare Mel-corca, mother of Anlaf Peacock. *Landnáma*, ii., 15, 9.
59. Malachy: MALAKI, 26 [114]. S. m. voc. sing. Scripture name adopted by the Celtic Christians. Here probably refers to the St. Malachi who died 1148.
60. moðir: MUþUR, 18 [105]. S. fem. acc. sing. M . . . ? 25 [113]. Mother.
61. Mön: MAUN, 3 [74]. S. fem. acc. sing. Place-name. Man.
62. Muirgheal: MURKIALU, 25 [113]. S. fem. acc. sing. Celtic woman's name. Myrgiol, Muirgheal, the name of an Irish king's daughter in *Landnáma*, mother of Erp. II., 14, 4.
- N. nauð, need. þ 16; þ, on all the rest but 15, from which it is broken off. Does not occur as an initial letter.
- O. áss, a God; óss, mouth (in the old Runic poems), þ. This character in many of our inscriptions stands for the nasalized A—3, 5, 6, 9, 12, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21.
It stands for O in 16, 23, 26, 27.
63. Oddr: UTR, 21 [109]. S. m. nom. sing. Norse man's name, Odd.
UT[S], 24 [112], gen. sing. *Landnáma*, Oddr.
64. ok: OK, 26 [114]. Conj. And.
AUK, 3 [74], 25 [113].
- P. See B, þ, 26, 27.
65. Patrikr: BAþRIK, 26 [114]. S. m. voc. sing. for Patrick. Celtic man's name.

66. Prestr: BRIST, 26 [114], 27 [115]. S. m. nom. sing. Priest.
- R. reið, cart. Ṛ in all but 4, from which it has been broken off. The final R, Ṛ, is not found in the Manx inscriptions, unless possibly in the cryptic one 7 [84]; but Dr. Brate thinks he recognizes the very old form l in 10 [87].
67. Raðfrit: RAḂIFRIT, 25 [113]. S. m. nom. sing. Norse man's name?
68. Rauðr: RAUḂA, 18 [105]. Adj. m. gen. sing. Used here as a nickname. Red.
69. reisa: RAISTL, 3 [74], 5 [77], 9 [86], 10 [87], 11 [92], 15 [102], 16 [103], 17 [104], 25 [113]; RAITI, 12 [99]; RISTI, 13 [100], 18 [105], 20 [108], 21 [109], 23 [111]. V. pret. 3 pers. sing. To raise. "r. stein," to raise a stone, set up a monument, is a standing phrase on the Runic stones.
70. rísta: RAIST, 6 [81], 25 [113]. RAISTI, 27 [115]. V. pret. 3 pers. sing. To carve, cut, scratch.
71. rún: RUNAR, 6 [81]. RUNER, 8 [85], 25 [113]. RUNUR, 27 [115]. S. fem. acc. pl. Rune. The primary meaning appears to have been a secret, mystery.
- S. sól, Sun. Ṣ In all except 8, 19, from which it is broken off, and 16, which has the form ṣ (*not* the usual Scandinavian ḡ).
72. Sála (later, Sál): SALU, 3 [74]. S. fem. dat. sing. Soul.
73. Sandulfr: SONTULF, 16 [103]. S. m. nom. sing. Norse man's name. Hakon Saga 57.
74. Sauðr: SAUḂA, 26 [114]. S. m. gen. plur. Sheep.
75. Sínn: SIN, 2 [73], 3 [74], 5 [77], 12 [99], 20 [108], 21 [109], broken. M. acc. sing. SIIN, 22 [110]. M. acc. sing. SINA, 3 [74], 11 [92], 16 [103], 24 [112], 25 [113]. F. acc. sing. SINE, 17 [104]. F. acc. sing. SINO, 18 [105]. F. acc. sing. Pron. possess. reflex; usually placed after, but also before. His.
76. smiðr: SMIḂ, 3 [74]. S. m. gen. sing. for smiḂar. Smith, artificer.
77. sunr: SON, 17 [104]. Acc. sing. SUNR, 2 [73], 5 [77], 25 [113]. Nom. sing. SUR, 11 [92]. Nom. sing. SUN, 5 [77], 9 [86], 12 [99], 20 [108]. S. m. acc. sing. Son.
78. Svartr: SUARTI, 16 [103]. Adj. m. nom. sing. SUARTA, 14 [101]. M. gen. sing. Swart, black. Nickname. *Landnáma*, *svarti*.
- T. tyr, Tew, Ṣ, 16; Ṣ in all the rest, except the broken 19.
79. Tryggð (tryggvar, f. pl.): TRIKU 22 [110]. S. f. dat. pl. Faith, truce.
- U. úr, V, Ṣ. On all but 4 and 19, from which it has been broken off.
80. Ufeigr: UFAIK, 2 [73]. UFAAK, 9 [86]. S. m. acc. sing. Norse man's name. *Landnáma*. Ufeig and Ofeigr; rendered by Vigfusson, Unfey. Rather common in Sweden. (?) From the Irish O'faac.
81. Ukifat: UKIFAT, 25 [113]. S. m. nom. sing. Man's name. (?) Ugfadhan occurs as a name in Four Masters.
82. Ulfr: ULB, 5 [77]. S. m. acc. sing. Norse man's name. In compound as SONTULF, LIUTULB, THURULFS.

83. Véla : UILTI, 22 [110]. V. pret. 3 pers. sing. To defraud, to trick.
84. vera : ES, 17 [104]; the final R in SAUÞAR, 26 [114]. V. pres. 3 pers. sing. To be, exist. TH: thurs, thorn. Þ, on all but 8, 12, 14, 19, from which it has been broken off.
85. Than: ÞAN, 17 [104]. Conj. Than. Lat. *quam*. Old Swedish *þan*.
86. þessi : ÞANA, 2 [73], 5 [77]. Demons. pronoun, m. acc. sing., emphatic form placed before or after. In Manx inscriptions always after the noun, except in the late Maughold inscription, 27 [115]:—ÞISIR RUNUR. This. These.
- ÞANO, 3 [74], 9 [86].
- ÞAANA, 10 [87].
- ÞONA, 16 [103].
- ÞONO, 18 [105], 20 [108], 21 [109].
- ÞO . . . 15 [102].
- ÞNA, 4 [75], 13 [100].
- ÞENA, 17 [104]. ÞINA, 11 [92].
- ÞENSI, 24 [112]. M. acc. sing. For þansi, with suffixed particle þessi, as generally on Runic stones.
- ÞISIR, 27 [115] F. acc. pl. (not correct form).
- ÞSAR, 6 [81]. F. acc. pl.
87. þor—: ÞU . . . , 21 [109]. Man's name broken off.
- þorbjorn : ÞURBIAURN, 23 [111]. S. m. nom. sing. Norse man's name. þorbiorn, *Landnáma*.
88. þorleifr : ÞURLIBR, 20 [108]. S. m. nom. sing. Norse man's name. *Landnáma*, iii., 20.
89. þórolfr : ÞURULFS, 18 [105]. S. m. gen. sing. Norse man's name, Thor-wolf. *Landnáma*.
90. þorsteinn : ÞURSTAIN, 9 [86]. S. m. nom. sing. Norse man's name. *Landnáma*, iii., 14.
91. þorvaldr : ÞURUALTR, 15 [102]. S. m. nom. sing. Norse man's name. *Landnáma*, iii., 6, etc.
92. þuríðr : ÞURIÞ, 25 [113]. S. f. nom. sing. Norse woman's name. þóríðr. *Landnáma*.



DESCRIPTION

OF THE MONUMENTS

PRE-SCANDINAVIAN

THE earliest monuments in the Isle of Man of the class dealt with in these pages are neither crosses nor cross-slabs, but boulders and unhewn pillars bearing inscriptions in Ogam characters and the Irish language of the fifth century. There is no reason to doubt that they are sepulchral or that they are Christian, belonging to a series which is peculiar to the British Isles and largely represented in Ireland (see p. 71).

The first discovery of Ogams in the Isle of Man was in 1871, by the Rev. F. B. Grant, then Curate of Rushen, who submitted a drawing of one of the Ballaqueeney inscriptions to Mr. W. Kneale, by whom it was deciphered. It appears, however, not to have been published till 1886, when Professor Rhys, in the *Academy* of July 10th and August 7th, contributed an account of it, as did the Rev. E. B. Savage to the *Manx Note Book*, October, 1886.

The two Rushen inscriptions were found at Ballaqueeney, a farm adjoining the Port St. Mary Railway Station, when a bank in which was an ancient burial ground was being removed for ballast in the formation of the railroad. The section of the mound showed the different layers of gravel deposited in prehistoric days by the tide flowing in from the north-east, and it might still have been a landing-place within historic times, and one of the earliest settlements in the Island. Beneath two flags on the floor of the old Keeil, in the midst of the burial ground,¹ was an accumulation of ashes, probably remains of cremation in earlier pre-Christian days. Near by were found a number of coins—Edmund, Edred, and Edwy (941-959), and one of Charles the Simple of France (893-929). Many lintel graves were met with formed of thin slabs of the local slaty stone. Out of one of these rolled the smaller Ogam stone; the other formed one side of a grave. Of course, they were not *in situ*, but must have been brought from still older graves. Since their removal they have been in the possession of Mr. Kelly at Ballaqueeney, the larger one against the gable of the house, the smaller one in a greenhouse. Both should be sent to the Insular Museum.

1.—**Rushen.** Plate v.—The first of these stones, which formed the side of one of the graves, having its inscribed edge uppermost and its head to the head of the grave, is an unhewn

1

2



3

OGAM-INSCRIBED STONES.

4

(1, 2) Ballaqueeney, Rushen ; (3, 4) Bimakin Friary, Arbory. (From Photographs of the Stones by Mr. T. Keig.)

and waterworn slab of Silurian sandstone, which must have been brought from some distance. One end has been chipped off, but apparently only by an inch or so, and it now measures forty-four and a half inches by fourteen and a half inches wide, and four inches thick. The inscription, commencing at thirteen inches from the bottom, runs up the angle of the left edge of the stone,¹ and is continued round the top. It occupies a space of thirty-four and a half inches, of which thirteen and a half inches is left blank, curiously dividing the word MAQUI. This, as suggested by Professor Rhys, must be due to the fact that the stone just at the blank space is capped by a tough piece of quartz of extremely hard texture. The scores are about a quarter of an inch apart, the characters separated by about three to five-eighths of an inch, and measure about two inches in length by one-sixteenth in width and in depth; the vowels are represented by scores three-quarters of an inch long. The whole appearance of the Ogam is typically Irish, as is also the formula and the language of the inscription.

Beside the figure in the plate, from a photograph by Mr. T. Keig, I have given a facsimile of all the Ogam inscriptions reduced to the same scale, one-sixth (nearly)—see page 73, fig. 42.

It reads as follows:—DOVAIDONA MA (space of thirteen and a half inches) QI DROATA, *i.e.*, (The stone) of Dovaidu, son of the Druid. The first word is the name in the genitive case of the person to whom the monument was erected, for there is no reason to suppose that there had been other words below. The termination -AIDONA is one of several postfixes to single names met with in Ogam. From the form DOV we get DOVINIAS,² DOVETI,³ and this of DOVAIDONA(s). At Glennavillen, Cork, we find DOVALOSCI, or DOVALESCI, as read by Professor Rhys.

The word MAQUI (the third character being really equivalent to QU) is one of those most frequently met with in Ogam, and is the genitive of MAQUAS, MAQUA, and later, MAQ, "son."

DROATA is in the genitive, the "s" dropped, as in DOVAIDONA—an indication that this inscription is not one of the earliest. Mr. R. A. S. Macalister⁴ takes this to be a proper name—DRUI, gen. DRUAD, as he does in the Colbinstown inscription, Kildare, where he reads the Roman IVVE()E DRVVIDES, "Juvene, son of Drui." He takes the word MEQQDDRROANN, found on the Bressay stone, Shetland, to be a Picto-Goidelic patronymic.⁵

But there is nothing to indicate that in this case it is a proper name, and it seems more reasonable to take it literally as referring to the fact that

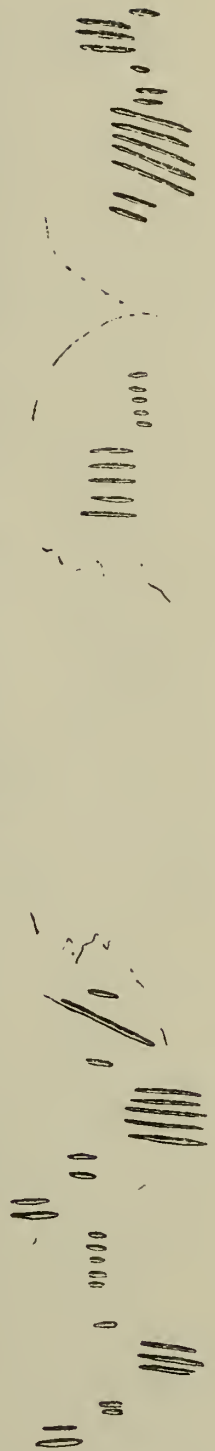
¹ In order to avoid confusion I follow the usual course in speaking of left and right in the sense of being to the spectators' left or right as he faces the stone.

² Ballintaggart and Burn Law, Kerry.

³ Ballintaggart.

⁴ *Studies in Irish Epigraphy*, p. 79.

⁵ See *Inscriptions of the Northern Picts*, by Principal Rhys, Proc. S.A. Scot., vol. xxxii., p. 379. He reads:—"Wife of MacDrroann," a name which he suggests may be of the same origin as *Truian*, in our Kirk Bride Runic Inscription.



(1) DOVAIDONA
MAQUI DROATA.

the deceased's father was a priest of the old religion. In this view I am confirmed by Professor Rhys, who contributed a note on this monument to the *Journal* of the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society in 1890,¹ in which he rendered the inscription: "The place or the stone of Dovoïdo, son of (the) Druid," or the Charmer; for he adds, "the ancient Druids of these Islands were just the charmers and herb doctors of their day. So perhaps the question ('Were there ever Druids in the Isle of Man?') might be altered into the following: 'Has the Isle of Man ever been without its Druids?'"

2.—**Rushen.** Plate v.—The other Ballaqueeney stone was broken when found, but perhaps was never much larger. It is the ordinary clay-slate of the district, the angles somewhat rounded. Most unfortunately, upon exposure for some time to the air and the action of the weather, it crumbled into fragments; it has, however, been skilfully put together, and the scores for "d," "o"—now shown in cement—were happily read by Professor Rhys before they were lost. The stone measures twenty inches and a half in length; in width it is now broken at five inches; and the thickness is about the same. The inscription runs up the angle at the right edge, which is unusual, and is carried over the top, so that a reader facing the stone has to take the characters backwards. Being so small, it must have been equally easy and perhaps more convenient for the inscriber to handle the stone so as to cut it this way. The scores average two inches in length by a sixteenth of an inch wide and deep, the vowels being from six to seven-eighths of an inch long, and distinctly strokes, not notches. The fineness and general appearance of the scores resemble those of an interesting inscription found at Ballymena, Antrim, in 1899. The reading is quite clear:—BIVAI[DO]NAS MAQI MUCOI CUNAVA . . —(The stone) of Bivaïdu, son of 'mucoi' Cunava[li]—(Connell).

The first word, as in the last inscription, is the name of the deceased in the genitive case. It has, too, the same postfix "aidonas," but with the older case-ending in "s." From BEVV we get BIVITI, BIVODON, Kilbeg, Waterford, and BIVATOR, Cork. It was first read by Professor Rhys in 1886—BIVAICUNAS. In the *Manx Note Book*, April, 1887, p. 64, he, however, suggests "dd" for "c," adding that his note taken at the time was "four digits unequally spaced." We have here a common formula in Ogam, which until recently has not been explained: MUCOI, very rarely MOCOI, genitive of MOCO. Professor Rhys points out² that the facilities for studying the use made of MOCO or MACCU are chiefly afforded by Adamnan,

¹ In *Lioar Manninagh*, No. 6, p. 179. See also *Academy*, xxxviii., p. 134, August 16, 1890.

² *Inscriptions*, p. 352.

“one of the meanings of the word as used in Goidelic was that of *gens* or *genus*, clan or tribe, but race or stock minus the abstraction which attaches to those terms. It was race in the strictly concrete form of some individual of it.”

The last word is unfortunately imperfect owing to the stone having been broken. Professor Rhys suggested to me that it probably stood for CUNAVA[LI], a genitive making in modern language Connell in O’Connell—perhaps our Manx name Cannell.¹ All the words in this inscription are in the genitive case. As in the last, the inflexions and the names show that it belongs to the class of Munster Ogams, and that it is of an early date. But there can, I think, be no doubt that both these inscriptions belong to the Christian period, the knowledge of Ogams having perhaps been introduced by the earliest Irish missionaries, who might have established themselves first in the neighbourhood of Port Erin.

3.—**Arbory.** Plate v.—Our third Ogam stone, now in the Museum at Castle Rushen, was built into a wall at the Bimakin Friary, Arbory. It is a pillar of “sericite schist,” measuring fifty-three inches long by about twelve and a half inches wide, and six inches thick. The inscription reads up the right arris or angle of the stone, the legible portion occupying a space of about twenty inches. Evidently some has been worn away at the beginning, as there are apparent traces of Ogams below. The last vowel is scarcely visible; the upper end of the stone has been broken off at the third stroke of the character for “Q.” The inscription may have been continued round the top, as in the other instances.

The scores are from three-eighths to three-fourths of an inch apart, and about two and a half inches in length by a quarter of an inch wide and one-eighth of an inch deep, the vowels being represented by scores three-quarters to one and a half inches long.

What remains of the inscription reads:— . . . CUNAMAGLI MAQ . . .
 . . . of Cunamaglas, son [of N.N.] . . . The first word is the name in the genitive case, with the “I” ending of the second class. To quote Professor Rhys:² “If it occurred in Roman capitals in Wales or Cornwall, it would be found written Cunomagli. The genitive actually occurs in the somewhat later form Conomagli, in the life of a Breton saint, which mentions a man called *Maglus Conomagli filius*. Then we have the still later form, Conmagle, given in the *Saxon Chronicle* as the name of one of the Welsh kings vanquished by Cealwin at the battle of Deorham in the year 577. In modern Welsh the name is reduced to Cynfael, and sometimes to Cynfal. Its corresponding late Irish forms are Conmal and Conmhal: etymologically, it was entitled to have its ‘a’ marked long (written á) in compensation for the elided guttural. Similarly, the simple Maglus is represented in Irish by Mál, which is said to have meant a prince or hero.”



(3) CUNAMAGLI
MAQ . .

We do not meet with the name elsewhere in lapidary inscriptions. The first part of the word occurs twice in Wales—Cuno-tami, at St. Dogmael’s, Cardiganshire, and Cuna-cenna at Trallong, Brecon.

¹ Moore, *Manx Surnames and Place Names*, p. 44, quotes the form MacConnell [1511], Cannell [1606], and Connil [1623].

² *Manx Note Book*, p. 64.

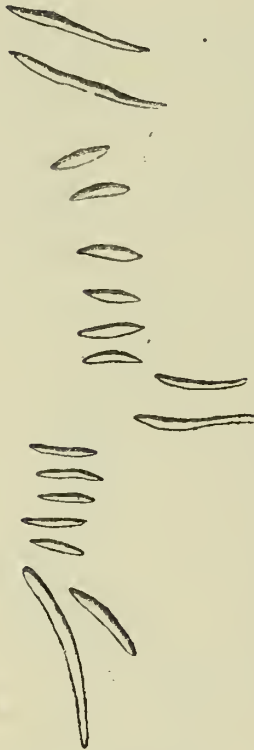
4.—**Arbory.** Plate v.—Our remaining example of this class was also found at the Friary in Arbory, and is now in Castle Rushen. It is cut on a small granite boulder, seventeen and a half inches by sixteen inches, and eight inches thick. The inscription is cut round the edge, too worn to show any very definite angle, and occupying a space of about seventeen inches. The diagonal scores are four inches long, the other consonants two and a half inches, and they vary from one-sixteenth to one-fourth of an inch wide; the vowels are one and three-eighths inches long by three-sixteenths; the depth of the scores being about three-sixteenths of an inch.

It is quite legible, and reads:—

MAQLEOG
(Mac Leog).

Simply the name with no inflexion—our modern “Clague” in the nominative case. Mr. Macalister, *Academy*, July 25th, 1896, and in his *Studies in Irish Epigraphy*, p. 47, describes two stones then recently found in a stream on the town land of Ballyeighteragh, Kerry. One of these bore the inscription: “MAQI LIAG MAQI ERCA.” The name, he adds, is common in the manuscripts, and was borne by more than one distinguished man—notably, the Bard of Brian Bó-rama. It is not found elsewhere on stone.

This is of later date than the others, and may belong to the ninth to twelfth centuries.



(4) MAQLEOG.

PICTISH OR “SCHOLASTIC” OGAMS

As already stated, we have two monuments bearing inscriptions in these characters, Professor Rhys considering it certain that those on the Michael Cross belong to the same school as those of Scotland and the Northern Islands, especially the instances from Burrian and Lunasting, also Abernethy. Though much later than those described, it will be most convenient to discuss them here.

The first is the beautiful Mal Lumkun cross at Kirk Michael 104. On the face of the cross, to the right of and a little below the sculpturing, I found, when having it photographed some years ago, what turned out to be a perfect alphabet. On the back, between the two Runic legends, is an inscription, very lightly scratched, and now so weathered and worn as to be, I fear, impossible to decipher. It would seem as though both this and the alphabet had been cut after the stone had been carved and set up, by some late Ogam scholar, who engraved the alphabet on the face, with a view to preserve a knowledge of the characters, and to call attention to his inscription on the back. It follows that they cannot be earlier than the end of the eleventh century.

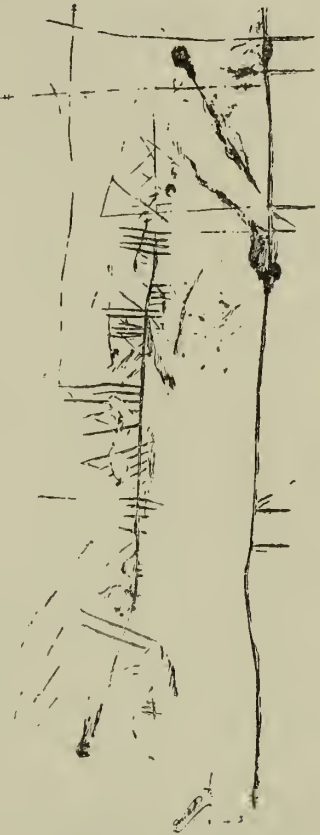
A. The alphabet here given is in Bind Ogams, in the order as set forth in the Book of Ballymote, where their equivalents are given as B L F S N H D T C Q M G N G S T R A O U E I.

It occupies a space nine inches long, and is enclosed in a rectangular panel twelve and a half inches by four inches, framed by lines, the inner and end ones very lightly cut. The stem-line,

which first caught my eye, is more deeply grooved, but the Ogam characters, from three and a quarter inches to one and a half inches long, are no thicker than cobwebs, and only to be read by the closest scrutiny in a favourable light. It reads from below upwards, and has been well described by Professor Rhys,¹ with whom I had the pleasure of examining it in August, 1892. He took the stem line to be the inner of two grooves about two inches apart, but at one and a half to two inches the other side of this I can distinctly trace the faint remains of what I take to be the other containing line. The groups have been purposely made of different lengths; they are at different angles, also "some spread out like a besom, while some look rather like a bundle of faggots." He notices in particular that the bind-line of the second Ogam in each of the four series is extended backwards to cap the single score preceding it.



A.—Ogam Alphabet,
Michael 104.



B.—Ogam Inscription,
Michael 104.

B. The inscription on the back of the same stone was first described by Lord

Southesk from a drawing and description by Mr. J. H. Nicholson and the Rev. E. B. Savage (*Academy*, xxxv., pp. 359-361, November 26th, 1887). He then read it downwards—"Muucmall afi ua Mullguc." If, however, it was cut by the inscriber of the alphabet, it would doubtless, as in that case, read from below upwards. I have endeavoured, by means of casts in plaster and in wax, of enlarged photographs, and the closest scrutiny of the stone in different lights, to follow the scores, but have been unable to make anything of it, except that it undoubtedly was an Ogam inscription.



C.—Ogam Alphabet, Maughold 115.

C. The last of these inscriptions is on a broken slab of unhewn slate found at Maughold Church when undergoing extensive repairs in 1900, and now in the village Hall, by the Vicarage.

¹ "The Inscriptions and Language of the Northern Picts," *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, May 9th, 1899, pp. 302-5, footnote.

Like the Michael one, it is accompanied by an inscription in Runes, but in this case both are undoubtedly by the same hand—viz., “Juan Priest,” as he describes himself. The stone measures about fourteen inches square, but the original length must have been twice as much at least. The Ogams, below two lines of Runes, the second of which is the *Runic Alphabet* or Futhork, read from left to right—B L F S N—H D T C Q—. . .—and doubtless the other two groups followed, as in the case of the Michael alphabet. The scores are from half an inch to five-eighths of an inch long, and about one-thirtieth of an inch wide and deep.¹ They are clearly cut, and evenly spaced and arranged without any bind-lines.

PRE-SCANDINAVIAN CROSSES

INCISED AND LINEAR

We have several stones bearing rudely-incised crosses, but neither inscribed nor ornamented, and therefore not to be dated with precision. So far as can be judged



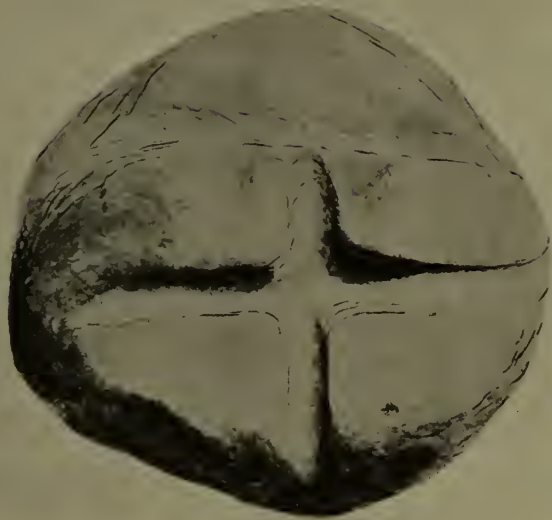
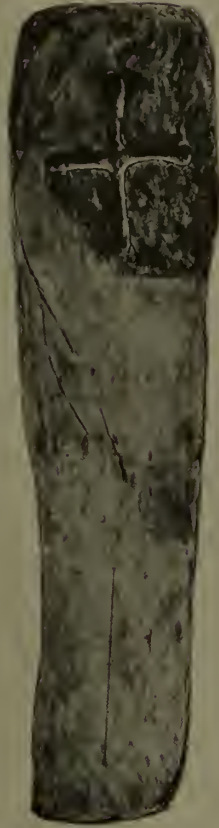
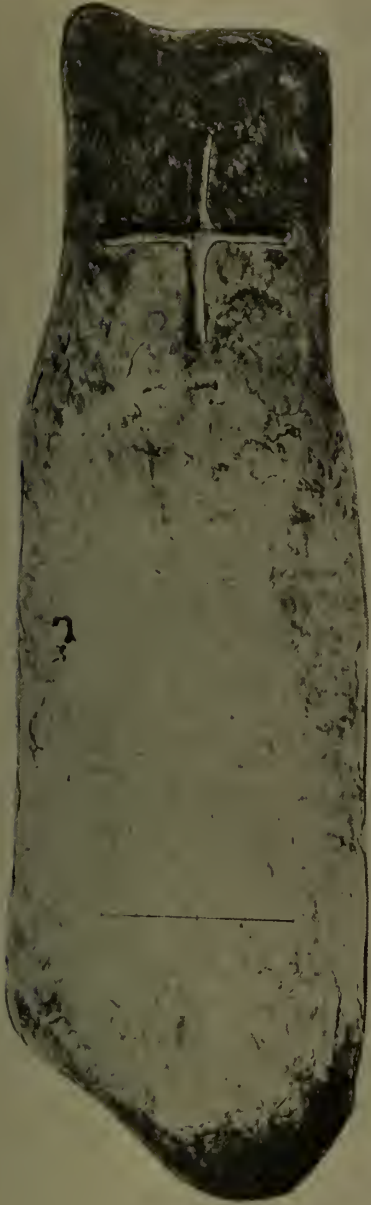
FIG. 46.—ST. PATRICK'S CHAIR, MAROWN.

from the forms of the cross itself, the execution and general appearance of the stone, and by comparison with others over the water, these may belong to the seventh and eighth centuries; while a few of them may date from the first introduction of Christianity into the Island—perhaps in the beginning of the sixth century.

5.—Marown. Plate vi.—The figure, from a sketch taken by me in 1906, shows the monuments known as St. Patrick's Chair, in the Margher-y-chiarn, or “lord's field,” near the Garth in the parish of Marown.² This may have been an early moot-hill or a pagan burial-place. In the neighbourhood, about a mile to the south-east, is the monument known as the Braid Circle, and about half a mile to the west are the curious groups of Archallagan tumuli, while the old church and burial ground of St. Runn lies half a mile north-east. When in November,

¹ This stone was described and figured by me in the *Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, July, 1902.

² Perhaps the easiest way to get to it is from the Crosby railway station, up the opposite hill, and past the parish school, from which it is distant about a mile (see Map at the beginning of the volume).



5

6

7

LINEAR CROSSES.

(5, 6) Pillars of the local Granite from St. Patrick's Chair, Marown, Scale $\frac{1}{2}$; (7) Granite Boulder from Ballabeg, Grenaby, Malew, Scale about $\frac{1}{8}$.

1894, I took down the two marked stones to have them cast, I found certainly no trace or indication of burial, but a proper search could only be made by the excavation of the entire mound. It lies north-east and south-west, and is built of earth and rubble, measuring seven feet long by four feet deep and eighteen inches high.

Upon the mound are set two unhewn blocks of the local white mica trap-dyke, each of which is marked with a cross. Another large block and two smaller pieces, loose when seen by me, would appear by Cumming's figure and description to have been standing beside them in 1857.¹

These crosses are exceptional in that they now appear to stand where they had been originally set up; and that they are not sepulchral, but probably commemorative, erected, perhaps, or marked with the cross by an early missionary who here first preached the Gospel to the natives.²

The total length of the largest of the stones is seventy-four inches; width, twenty-three inches, tapering at the top to sixteen inches; and thickness six and a half inches, tapering to four inches at the bottom. Upon its face, looking west-north-west, is chiselled a plain linear cross, starting from a point six and a half inches from the top of the stone, and measuring fourteen inches long by twelve inches across the arms, which are of equal length, but the lower limb is three-quarters of an inch longer than the upper. The lines are a quarter of an inch deep, and about an inch wide, expanding in bulbous or club-shaped terminations to the limbs.

6.—Marown. Plate vi.—The total length of this stone, which is set at the left side of the last, is fifty-two inches; it is thirteen inches wide at the top, tapering to nine and a half inches at the bottom, and four inches thick at the top, expanding to nine at the bottom. It bears a similar cross to that on the other stone, the top of which is at a point four inches and three-quarters from the top of the stone. The cross measures eleven and a half inches long by nine inches across the arms; the lower limb being an inch longer than the upper, and the right three-quarters of an inch longer than the left. The lines are from a quarter to half an inch deep, and from three-quarters of an inch to one inch wide, expanding in club-shaped terminations as in the last.

This round-sinking at the end of each limb is not common. We meet with it on a stone from Harris in the Hebrides,³ at Budock in Cornwall,⁴ and Strata Florida⁵ and Trawmaur in Wales; also Ballquhidder, Perthshire,⁶ and on Eilean-na-Naoimh, one of the Garveloch islands between Scarba and Mull, the site of a monastery founded by St. Columba.⁷

7.—Malew. Plate vi.—In removing the foundations of Keel Undin, on Ballabeg, Grenaby, Malew, in 1899, a granite boulder—of which numbers are scattered over the slope of South Barrule—was found to have a cross cut on one face. The stone measures about twenty-three inches long by eighteen inches wide and ten inches thick.

¹ *Runic and other Monumental Remains* (fig. 45).

² So we read that it was not unusual for St. Patrick to dedicate pagan monuments to the honour of the true Gods.—Petrie, *Round Towers*, p. 135. And there are instances in the lives of Kentigern and of Ethelwold.

³ Stuart, *Sculp. Stones*, ii., pl. ciii.

⁴ Langdon, *Old Cornish Crosses*, p. 246.

⁵ Westwood, *Lap. Wall.*, p. 691. *Ibid.*, p. 492. But a much better figure of this is given by Mr. Romilly Allen, *Christian Symbolism*, p. 99.

⁶ Stuart, *Sculp. Stones*, ii., lxviii.

⁷ *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, i., p. 96.

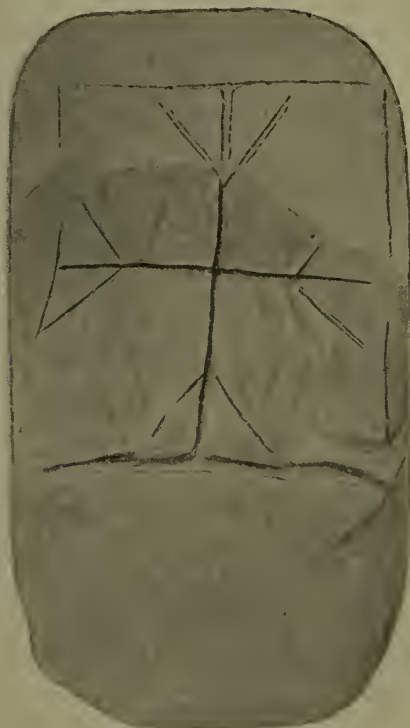
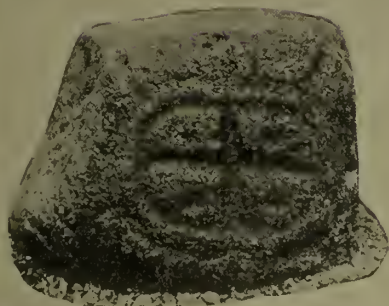
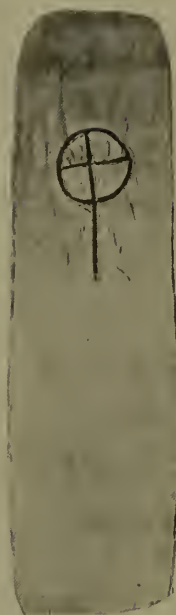
The cross resembles those on St. Patrick's Chair, but is larger, and lacks the bulbous terminations. It measures eighteen inches by twelve and a half inches, the lines being about two inches wide, and from five-eighths of an inch to one inch deep. The lower limb is an inch longer than the head, and the right arm three and a half inches longer than the left, across the end of which the stone for its full length has been curiously sunk from two inches to two and a half inches. Could this have been with a view to building it as a foundation stone in the wall, or over a doorway?

The proprietor, Mr. E. P. Quayle, having presented it to the Insular Museum, the stone was, in April, 1905, brought in to Castle Rushen by the tenant, Mr. J. Kewish, by whom it had been found.

8.—Lonan. Plate vii.—Four early cross-slabs have been discovered while this work was going through the press, and at the cost of some delay and some little trouble in numbering afresh all the monuments here described, I am glad to be able to include them in their proper places. The first of these was found on the 25th January, 1906, by the Rev. John Quine, Vicar of Lonan, in the course of excavations around the old church near Groudle. It was met with a foot below the surface, about three feet from the north-west corner of the church, lying flat on its back. Some two feet deeper there had been burials. It had evidently been a headstone, possibly to one of these graves.

It is a small slab of indurated schist probably from Clay Head, and measures twenty-one inches by eleven and three-quarters at the widest part, tapering to eight and a half at a point four and a half inches from the bottom, off which a few inches have been chipped away. It is one and a half to two inches thick. The form is new to our district, having the head rounded from two projecting knobs, and carefully chamfered on the back. One face, undressed, but having a naturally smooth surface, bears a small cross formed by a vertical and a horizontal line, six and seven-eighths of an inch by four and an eighth, the lines being about a quarter of an inch wide by a sixteenth to a tenth deep. From the ends of the arm springs a bow, slightly indented at the top where it is cut by the upper limb which projects about half an inch, terminating in a bulbous hollow. The upper and lower limbs are each decorated with a crosslet an inch long. The whole presents a form of cross such as I do not remember to have seen elsewhere.

9.—Lonan. Plate vii.—The next, also from Lonan old church, was discovered by Mr. Quine on the 24th May, in an ancient well at the lower corner of one of the glebe fields adjoining the churchyard. The well, triangular in shape, is formed of three immense blocks on edge, one curiously carved and lying partly on its side. Mr. Quine suggests that this may have been used for baptism, representing the transition period from the use of living waters to that of the font. The cross may have been set up beside it. The stone, which is of a blue slate from the neighbourhood, measures twenty-four inches by twelve across the widest part. Originally, no doubt, it was rectangular in outline, but is now broken, and tapers to a point below, and to six and a half inches at the top. One face, chiselled, but not dressed smooth, shows a small (intended) equal-limbed cross measuring five inches and an eighth by four and three-quarters—the upper limb two and seven-eighths, the lower two and a quarter, the arms two and three-eighths. The lines are a quarter of an inch wide, and about a sixteenth deep. On the smooth, natural surface of the other face is a small cross within an irregular oval eight and



11

13

14

LINEAR CROSSES.

(8, 9A, B) Lonan Old Church, Groulle; (10) Maughold; (11) Conchan;
 (13) Kerrookie, Malew (from Photograph of the Stone by Mr. T. Keig); (14) Fragment of Early Cross from the Nappin, Jurby.

three-quarter inches by six and a half, the shaft projecting an inch and a quarter below. The limbs slightly expand from about a quarter to half an inch, the lines being scarcely more than a sixteenth of an inch deep.

Both of these pieces have been worked with a punch or pointed chisel.

10.—Maughold. Plate vii.—This is a thin slab of the local clay-slate found in 1894 by J. Looney whilst digging a grave in Maughold Churchyard, about six yards north of the foundations of what appears to have been an ancient keeil, and may have been the covering stone of a lintel grave. It is now placed, with others, by the old Baldromma gable, in a corner south of the church porch, and measures forty-five inches by twelve and a half inches, tapering downwards to eleven and a half inches, and about an inch and a quarter thick.

Upon its face, at a point nine and a half inches from the top of the stone, is a linear cross within a circle five and a half inches in diameter, the shaft extending that distance beyond; so that the total length of the cross is eleven inches. The lines are from a quarter of an inch to three-eighths of an inch thick, and a sixteenth of an inch deep.

A similar form of cross within a circle is found on some of the oldest stones in Ireland, as at Gallaren, Kerry,¹ on a stone of the sixth or seventh century, and we have an instance of one carved on a rock in St. Patrick's time.² This form occurs also in Wales, as at St. Nun's, at Llanwinio (with an early Ogam inscription),³ and at Tralong, Brecknock, of fifth to seventh century; it is found in Cornwall at St. Wendron's.⁴

11.—Conchan. Plate vii.—A broken piece now in the porch at Kirk Conchan shows an advance upon the last, and forms a pleasing design. It was found in 1890 by the Rev. John Howard as a lintel to an out-building of the Vicarage. The stone is the ordinary clay-slate, and measures forty-nine inches by fifteen inches wide at the top, reduced to ten inches at the bottom, and two and a half inches to three inches thick.

The cross is contained within an oval (twenty-four inches by fourteen and a half inches); the limbs terminate in crosslets, the upper and lower one having the crosslets enclosed within circles. The upper limb is broken off at nine inches, but evidently would have been about twelve inches when perfect. The remaining circle is about five and three-fourths inches to six and a quarter inches diameter; the crosslets on the arms are smaller—about two and a half inches. The lines are cut an eighth of an inch deep, and a quarter to three-eighths of an inch wide.

12.—Braddan. Kinnebrook, 21. Cumming, 39.

I reproduce Kinnebrook's figure of this lost piece, which he shows along with the larger Thorlaf cross, Braddan; he does not refer to it in the letterpress. Cumming's illustration appears to be a rough copy of Kinnebrook's. He says of it:—"This very rude cross, carved on a small piece of greenstone, stood in the midst of Braddan Churchyard; but it is now (1857) broken in two. When I last saw it only the lower portion was standing in its socket."

I have searched in vain for this piece, but it has long since disappeared. From Kinnebrook's figure it would seem, to judge by comparison with the larger cross by which it stands,

¹ Petrie, *Christian Inscriptions*, ii., v., 10.

² *Ibid.*, ii., 139.

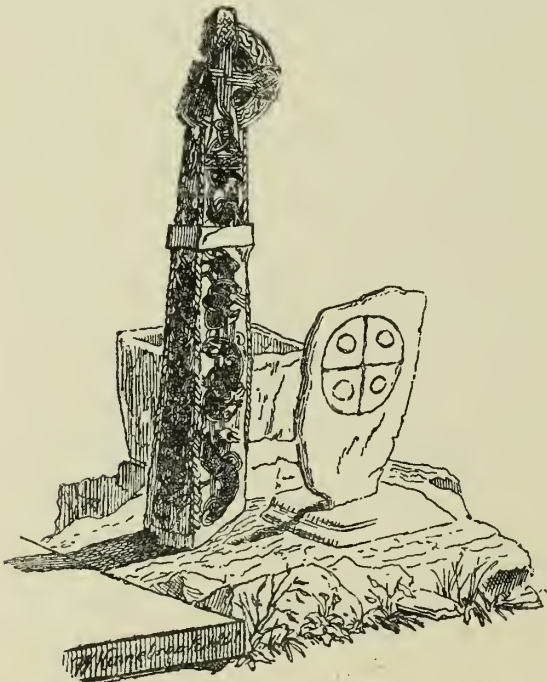
³ Westwood, *Lap. Wall.*, pp. 36, 47, 48, 63, 67, 90.

⁴ Langdon, *Old Cornish Crosses*, etc.

to have measured about twenty-four to thirty inches high by eighteen inches wide. On one face it bore a plain linear cross within a circle, with a small circle between each limb.

A similar cross, equally rudely cut, occurs at Newport, Wales,¹ but without the circlets between the limbs.

13.—Malew. Plate vii.—This stone, now in Castle Rushen, whither it was removed from Kerrow-Kiel, Grenaby, Malew, in May, 1893, is an unhewn granite boulder, and measures about twenty-four inches by eighteen inches by ten inches. On one face, within an oval formed by two incised lines an inch and three-quarters apart, measuring inside eleven and a half inches by



eight inches diameter, is a plain cross formed by lines about an inch wide and three-eighths of an inch deep. The shorter limbs appear to be produced beyond the oval, here slightly indented, for about three inches, and one may have terminated in a crosslet, but the stone is so weathered that I cannot say whether this is intentional. From the corners are indications as of short lines radiating outwards from the oval. Between the limbs are shallow cup-hollows about an inch and a quarter in diameter and a quarter of an inch deep. The encircling oval ring, fifteen and a half inches by eleven inches outside measurement, has its edges worn and slightly rounded, which gives it the appearance of being in relief.

My figure is from a photograph of the stone taken for me by Mr. Keig.

LINEAR, WITHIN A PANEL

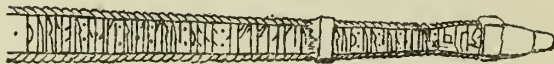


FIG. 47.—LOST STONE, BRADDAN CHURCHYARD.

Braddan 12, as etched by Kinnebrook.

14.—Jurby. Plate vii.—In the Treen Chapel, West Nappin, a farm adjoining the Parish Church of Jurby on the south, is a small slaty stone about seventeen inches by twelve inches, and one and a half inches to one and three-quarters of an inch thick.

Incised on one face is an equal-limbed cross formed by a horizontal and a perpendicular line, the expansion at the ends of the limbs being marked by diagonal lines; the whole is enclosed within a rectangular panel formed by fine lines, now almost obliterated, but apparently measuring about ten inches by eight and a quarter. The upper limb is broken off at three inches; the lower is about four and a half to five inches long. The lines are cut about an eighth of an inch wide by a sixteenth of an inch deep.

Though rudely executed, this is obviously an advance in type on the preceding, and probably of later date, being in fact a rough attempt to represent an outline cross with

¹ Westwood, *Lap. Wall.*, lxiii., 1.

expanded limbs. In June, 1895, I saw a small slab with a somewhat similar cross on the little island of Ardoileán, off the coast of Galway.¹ Another, at Clonmacnois, is enclosed in a panel, as in the present instance, but has the addition of a central diamond.² (See p. 16.)

All the before-mentioned pieces, so far as can be judged by the form of cross, by the execution of the work and general appearance of the stone, may be and probably are at least as early as the seventh century. The last, which is distinctly an advanced type and doubtless, therefore, later than the others, can be matched by one at Hartlepool, which appears to date from the seventh century.

INCISED IN OUTLINE

An advance upon the simple linear form is that of the cross incised in outline. Of these we have but few instances; they afford no indication of date further than can be gathered from their simple form and rude workmanship.

Two of them in Peel Cathedral have a very Oriental appearance, and are probably of earlier date than the others in outline, and due to a different influence.

15.—German, Peel. Plate viii.—The first of these stones is built into the west wall of the north transept,³ and measures fifteen inches by twelve inches by from one to two inches thick. Within a panel, defined by a thin line, is a cross patee, twelve and a half inches by ten and a half inches, the upper limb five inches long, the lower seven and a half inches. The outlines of the upper and lower limbs are connected, the arms being rudely appended at an acute angle with the other limbs. The head expands from an inch and a quarter at its narrowest to nine and three-quarter inches at the widest, and the lower limb to five inches. The arms show less expansion, the upper lines being straight. The lines are from a quarter of an inch to three-eighths of an inch wide, and a sixteenth to an eighth of an inch deep. The great expansion of the upper limb is very striking. A somewhat similar form of cross, but within a circle, showing inequality in width of limbs, is that of Ruardri in Clonmacnois, now lost, figured by Petrie (*Christian Inscriptions*, vii., 20).

16.—German, Peel. Plate viii.—In the east wall of the same transept is a slab, eighteen and a half inches by ten and a quarter inches, and from three-quarters to one and three-quarter inches thick, bearing a cross of similar design. It measures eleven and three-quarter inches by seven and a quarter inches, the lower limb being an inch and a half longer than the upper, the left arm three-quarters of an inch longer than the right. It has an appearance even more striking than the last, closely resembling a tau or *crux ansata*, with a triangular handle appended. The upper limb expands from one inch to five and a half inches, the lower from one and a quarter inches to three inches, the left arm from two and a quarter inches to three inches, and the right arm from two and five-eighths inches to two and three-quarter inches. The lines are a quarter to three-eighths of an inch wide, by one-sixteenth to an eighth of an inch deep.

17.—Maughold. Plate viii.—During the extensive repairs to Maughold Church in November, 1900, a broken piece (local clay-slate) was found lying along the south wall of

¹ "Antiquities of Ardoileán," R. A. S. Macalister, *Journal of R.S.A.I.*, Sept., 1896. Part iii., vol. vi., 5th Series.

² *Christian Inscriptions*, Petrie, vol. i., pls. 1 and 2.

³ These were removed, April 7th, 1906, and placed in the Guard Room, Peel.

the church. It measures fourteen inches by twelve inches, and two inches thick, and shows portion of the shaft and right arm of a cross. The shaft appears to have been twelve or more inches long, slightly expanding at the end. The remaining arm is six inches, and the head may have been slightly longer; so that the original size of the slab would have been about twenty-four inches or more by thirteen inches.

The lines are cut about an eighth of an inch wide and a sixteenth of an inch deep.

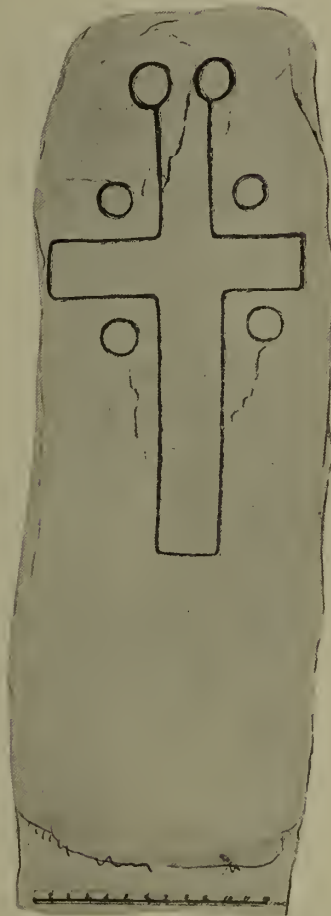
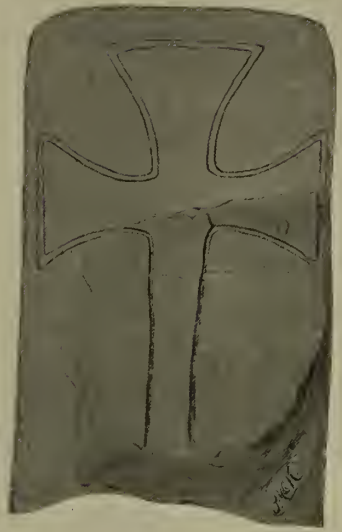
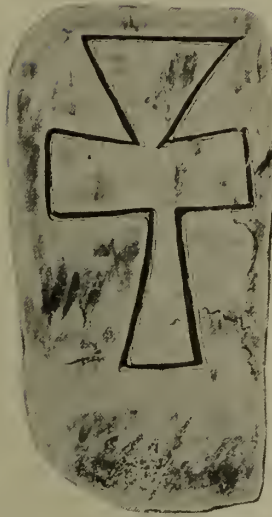
18.—Maughold, Corna. Plate viii.—From Cabbal Keeil Woirrey, near the head of Corna Valley, on the western slope of Barrule, in the same parish, is a heavy slate block (now in my collection), thirty-nine inches by fourteen and a half inches, tapering to five inches, and three and a half inches thick. The left edge is worn and rounded, the right fractured diagonally along a joint in the stone, which probably was more or less rectangular when carved. One face, much weathered, bears a plain cross, measuring twelve inches by ten and a half inches. The shaft is only half an inch longer than the head, but it is narrower, thus exaggerating the apparent length. The lines, from half an inch to five-eighths of an inch wide, are evenly chiselled a quarter of an inch deep. Between the limbs are four circles about an inch and a quarter in diameter; they are merely scratched in, and do not readily catch the eye. My figure is founded on a rubbing taken in June, 1900, but I had noted these circles when I first saw the cross many years ago.

19.—German, Peel. Plate viii.—In Peel Cathedral, set up against the same wall as fig. 15, is a rectangular slab sixty-two and a half inches by seventeen inches wide, and from one to two inches thick. This bears on one face a Latin cross, the lines forming the head not connected at the top, but each terminating in a circle. We frequently find the heads and limbs of crosses ending in spirals, by which probably these circles were suggested. In the Lateran Museum, Rome, I have seen a cross from the Catacombs much like this, but not with the open top. Between the limbs are four small circles, an inch and seven-eighths in diameter. The cross measures twenty-six and a half inches by thirteen and a quarter inches; the head eleven inches, shaft fifteen and three-eighths inches, left arm seven and three-eighths inches, and right arm six inches. The lines, a quarter of an inch wide, are picked with a punch or square chisel to a depth of one-sixteenth of an inch, but now for the most part worn shallower.

WITHIN CIRCLE

20.—Maughold. Plate ix.—At Maughold Parish Church an early piece was found in December, 1900, near the east gable. The stone measures twenty-three inches by sixteen inches, and two inches to two and a half inches thick. One face [A] bears an equal-limbed cross within a circle; it is not a true circle, however—rather an oval—measuring sixteen and three-quarter inches by fourteen and a quarter inches, and this may have been intentional; no two of the limbs are precisely the same either in width or length.

The other face [B] has a similar cross surrounded by a "circle," but the latter is more distinctly oval, measuring seventeen and a quarter inches by fourteen and an eighth inches; the shaft is quite two inches longer than the head, and two and a half inches longer than the arms. The lines are about a quarter to half an inch wide, and an eighth of an inch deep.



OUTLINE CROSSES.

(15, 16,) Peel Cathedral, German, Scale about $\frac{1}{2}$; (17) Maughold, Scale $\frac{1}{8}$; (18) Corna, Maughold, Scale $\frac{1}{10}$ (nearly); (19) Peel Cathedral, German.

21.—Maughold. Plate ix.—At Maughold also, in November, 1900, was found a stone lying against the south wall, near the west end of the church, about six inches below the surface. It measures twenty-one and a half inches by twelve and a half inches, and two inches to two and a half inches thick. One face bears a cross patee within a circle, of which the outer line was about eighteen inches in diameter, so that the stone must have been about twenty-two inches to twenty-four inches square. The lines of the circle are a quarter of an inch wide by an eighth of an inch deep. Unfortunately, more than half is broken off and lost, but there remains the right side, and upon carefully examining this, I had the pleasure of discovering above the circle the Omega, which doubtless had been balanced on the other side by the Alpha.

This is the first and only instance of this rare symbol found in Man. The Omega, as is usual, is in the minuscule; the Alpha, no doubt, would have been a capital. Mr. Romilly Allen points out¹ that in the only Irish manuscript of the New Testament containing the Book of Revelations, namely, the Book of Armagh, A.D. 807, the passage (Rev. i. 8) is given: "Ego sum Alpha et ω ," the last letter in the Greek minuscule form, all the rest of the manuscript being written in the ordinary Irish characters.

22.—Marown. Plate ix.—On the 4th May, 1906, I heard from the Rev. A. E. Clarke, Vicar of Marown, that he had discovered a cross when excavating around the old church there. The following day I went over, and we recovered the stone, which was lying on its back about eighteen inches below the surface at the south-east corner of the building. It appeared to form the covering stone of a lintel grave, which, however, had evidently been disturbed, and probably the cross was originally a head-stone.

The material is the mica schist of the neighbourhood, slightly discoloured with iron, and having bands of quartz through it, exactly like the rock disclosed in the highway on the hill approaching the church. It measured sixty-three inches by eighteen at the widest part, tapering to twelve at the bottom. The top had evidently been about seventeen inches wide, but a small piece was broken off. It is from three to six inches thick.

One face is carved with cross and circle in outline, measuring thirty-eight and a quarter inches long; the circle, about two inches wide, being from sixteen to seventeen inches in diameter, compressed into almost a square outline. The head and left arm measure six and a half inches, the right arm five and a half inches, and the shaft twenty-nine and a half inches by four inches wide at the bottom, tapering to about three inches at the top. The cross is double beaded, but otherwise plain. The circle which surrounds the upper limbs is broadly incurved at either side of the shaft. Between the limbs are four flat pellets about two and a half inches in diameter. A peculiarity in the form of the cross lies in the fact that the widely expanded ends of the limbs are compressed so as to form T-shaped terminations to them, the cross-bar, or expansion, being from eight to nine inches long by an inch to an inch and three-quarters wide. The lines are about a quarter to half an inch wide, and a quarter of an inch deep, and are cut with a square-pointed chisel.

Westwood² figures a cross of similar form, but without a circle, as from Llanfihangel Ysgeigflog. It has the addition of a cross-bar near the lower end of the shaft, which rather tapers.

¹ *Christian Symbolism*, p. 118.

² *Lap. Wall.*, pl. 89, 5. See also the figure of a cross from Clonmacnois (Petrie, *Christian Inscriptions*, i., pl. xi., 27).

WITHIN PANEL

23.—Maughold. Plate ix.—Another fragment was found by Mr. W. Callow, the builder in charge of the work of repairs, near the east end of Maughold Church. It now measures fifteen inches by thirteen inches, and three inches thick, and upon one face bears remains of a cross of pure Celtic type, the limbs connected by a broad circle, and contained within a rectangular panel. Probably the cross was equal limbed, in which case the stone must have measured about twenty-one inches square. If otherwise, the length may have been anything up to four or five feet. Both cross and circle are bordered by incised lines. The lines are about an eighth of an inch wide and deep, well and smoothly cut.

I find that this was certainly the left upper corner, not the right, as I had shown in my drawing. The panel arrangement reminds one of some slabs at Clonmacnois of the eighth to ninth century, during which period the Celtic form of cross came into general use in Ireland.

24.—Patrick. Plate ix.—*Report of Archæological Commissioners, 1878, pl. iii., 1.*¹

At Balleby, near Dalby, in Patrick, is an outline cross of different type. This is a heavy slab of metamorphic slate, eighty-seven inches high, twenty-eight inches wide, and four and a half to five inches thick. It is now set up against the barn, having been brought about 1850 from an old Keeil, the foundations of which were then to be seen in a field about one hundred and twenty yards west of the house, but now ploughed over.

The cross is formed by five squares—one in the centre, the other four representing the limbs, which, however, are not actually connected with the central square, though the distance between them is so slight that this is hardly noticeable. The more so as spaces of about an inch and a half are left in the outline of the squares for the connecting neck. Set at a distance of fifteen and a half inches from the top of the stone, the Cross measures twenty-three inches by twenty-two inches, the lines being half an inch wide and an eighth of an inch deep.

This seems to belong to a type with semi-circular endings to the limbs, an example of which, with limbs connected, we find at Clonmacnois, eighth or ninth century.² Such a form, with the lower limb extended, occurs in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, but I know of no other instance where the squares are detached.

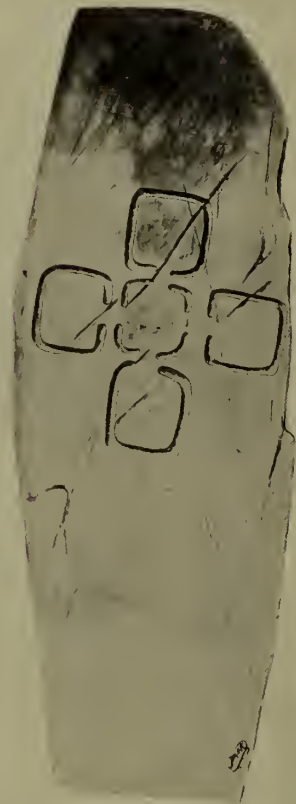
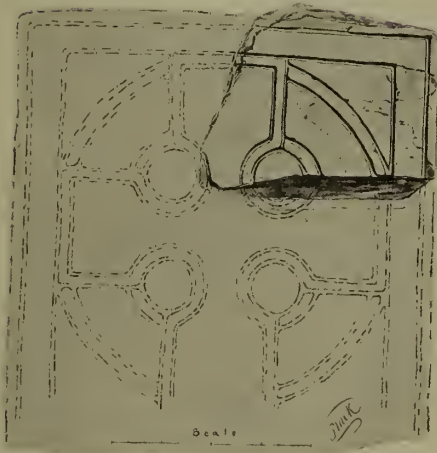
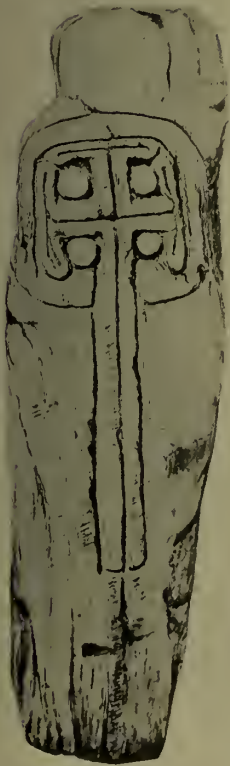
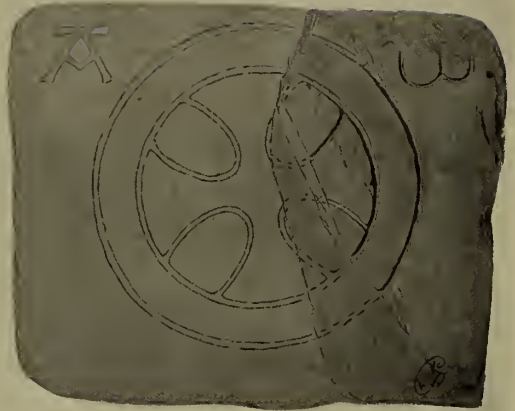
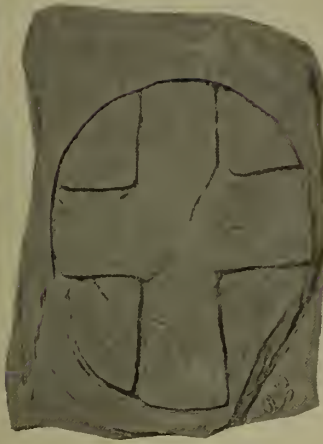
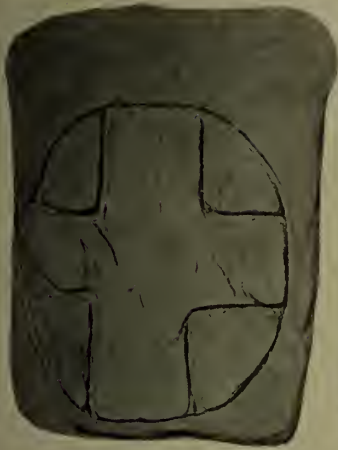
INCISED—DECORATED

25.—Maughold. Plate x.—We have a solitary example of an inscription in Anglian Runes in a stone found at Maughold during the extensive renovations of 1900. It formed the side of a grave near the north-west corner of the church, at a depth below the surface of about two feet; but was not *in situ*, as evidently it had been an upright headstone. The stone measures forty-four inches by sixteen inches, and two and a half to three inches thick. It is much worn, as though it had at one time formed a step or part of a pavement over which there was considerable traffic.

One face is carved, having a cross patee within a circle one and a half inches broad, the inside diameter of which is nine and a half inches. Below are three small circles two inches and three-quarters in diameter, each containing a cross of similar form. The widely-expanded limbs have been decorated with triquetras, drawn in double lines. The circle contained an

¹ The figure and description are in error in representing the squares as united.

² Petrie, *Christian Inscriptions*, xxvii., 67 (see *ante*, p. 18, fig. 12).



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23

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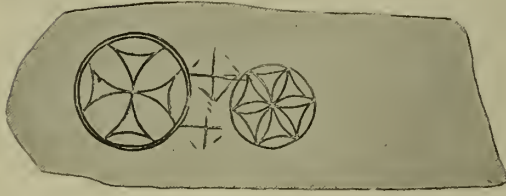
OUTLINE CROSSES.

(20, 21) Maughold, Scale between $\frac{1}{10}$ and $\frac{1}{11}$; (22) Marown Old Church, Scale $\frac{1}{10}$; (23) Maughold; (24) Balleby, Patrick, Scale about $\frac{1}{10}$.

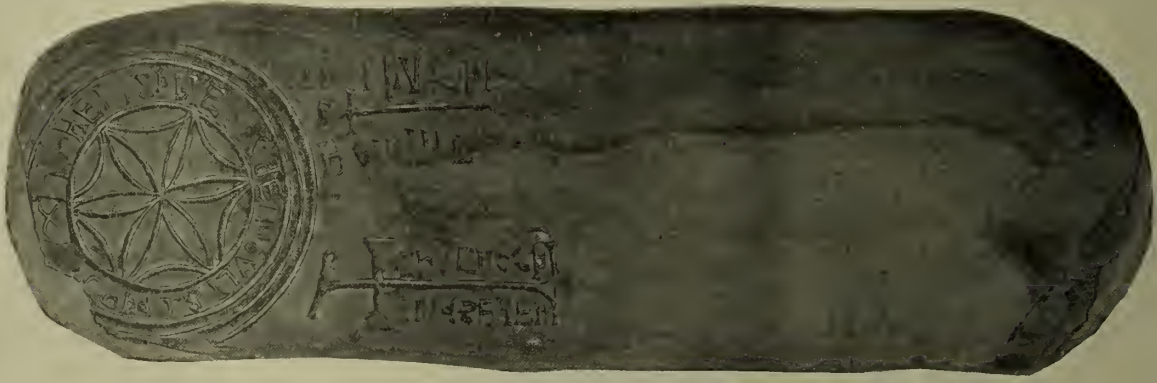
PLATE X.



25



26



27



28

OUTLINE CROSSES AND HEXAFOILS.

(25) Slab with Anglian Runes, Maughold; (26) Maughold, Scale between $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$; (27) Slab with Hilerno-Saxon characters, Maughold, Scale between $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$; (28) Fragment with Hexafoil design, Maughold.

inscription, consisting of nine characters in the Anglian runes, which are quite clear, and read: *BLAGKIMON*. The mark between the *K* and *M* appears to have been intended for the stroke of *M*, but found to come too close to the *K*, and so abandoned. There are no traces of other runes, and if we may assume that this forms one complete word, it makes a known Anglo-Saxon personal name. Among the forms which are known of this name are *Blacman*, *Blakeman* (c. 1000), *Blackeman*, and *Blacaman*.¹

The characters resemble those on the seventh century Bewcastle cross, Cumberland, the Franks casket, the Leasowe stone, Wirral, and others from the beginning of the eighth century. The Runes and the lines of the cross are about a sixteenth of an inch wide, and not more than about a thirty-second of an inch deep.

26.—Maughold. Plate x.—In October, 1899, Miss Dora Brown told me of a carved stone she had seen in a roadside hedge at Ballagilley, near Maughold Church. This, which is now with the other Maughold stones, I found to be a small slab of slate, twenty-four inches by nine inches, and two and three-quarter inches thick.

One face bears, within a narrow circle defined by two fine lines, a cross of similar design to the last. The circle is five and a quarter inches inside diameter, and three-sixteenths of an inch broad. Below, in a smaller circle four inches in diameter, is the hexafoil, which we find on a stone at Millport, Bute. Another stone from Cladh a Bhile, Argyll, bears a similar form of cross and a hexafoil, but their positions reversed, the hexafoil being above.² Between these circles are two small crosslets in diagonal squares, about two inches.

The whole is very lightly incised, the lines about a sixteenth of an inch wide, and has rather an unfinished appearance.

LATIN INSCRIPTION

27.—Maughold. Plate x.—I found this priceless relic in the rubbish thrown out by the workmen engaged in the repairs at Maughold Church in September, 1900. On turning it over, a line visible through the coating of stiff clay caught my eye, and my delight was great when a careful washing revealed the work upon it. It was found at a depth of three feet or more near the east end of the north wall.

The stone measures about twenty-seven inches by nine inches, and two and a half inches thick. One face only is decorated, having a hexafoil design, which here may be regarded as a form of cross evolved from the Chi-Rho symbol. The surrounding circle, bordered by a single line inside and three lines outside, contains an inscription in Hiberno-Saxon characters of the eighth or ninth century, of which, unfortunately, a few have been flaked away. What remains appears to read as follows: χ . . (space of an inch and a quarter) *NEITSpLI Epps dEI INSLV* (S?), followed by a sign not unlike that for *ET*. The artist then began again at the top in the opposite direction, and following a space of one and three-quarters to two inches there remain the characters...*b p a T*, which bring us again to the sign resembling *ET*.

What "Island Bishop" of this early period is here commemorated I am unable to make out, though his name is probably contained in the first part of the inscription round the circle.

Just below the circle are two crosslets, with inscriptions in similar characters running down either side of them. Of these only one word is defaced, and Principal Rhys' suggestion

¹ *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* (W. G. Searle, Cambridge, 1897), p. 1087. ² *Early Christian Monuments*, iii., p. 401, fig. 418.

upon seeing a rubbing and a photograph which I sent to him seems possible—that it was FECL. In that case we have, beginning on the right and running down:—

[FEC]I IN Χ̄R̄I
 NOMINE
 CRUCIS Χ̄R̄I
 IMAGENEM

That is to say, "I have made in Christ's Name an image of the Cross of Christ."

This inscription may be compared with that on a stone of the eighth or ninth century from Tarbet, near Invergordon Castle, Ross, now for the first time described and illustrated by Mr. Romilly Allen,¹ to which it bears some resemblance both in the lettering and in the formula,² but in that case the letters are in relief! Like it we have here the diamond-shaped O, the N like an H, and the M like a double H, all characteristics of the Hiberno-Saxon manuscripts and sculptured stones of the period. Other characteristic forms are the square-shaped C and the peculiar G, the like of which I have not seen elsewhere. But some of the letters are minuscules, as p, d, b, r, and a; while in the contraction for CHRISTI, in each case the R differs from the ordinary small R in CRUCIS, representing, in fact, the Greek Rho!

The crosslets measure—that on the left, five inches long by two and an eighth inches across; that on the right, four inches by one inch. The lines are one-eighth of an inch wide by one-sixteenth of an inch deep. Their form is very interesting. Here we have distinctly, and for the first time in Man, the rudimentary Rho, as shown in the little flourish to the sharply-expanding head of each cross. It closely resembles that on the two crosses at Kirk-madrine, Wigtown.³

The hexafoil design on this stone connects it with that from Ballagilley, Maughold 26, and with our next.

28.—Maughold. Plate x.—This I discovered in 1876 built as a lintel to an outbuilding of one of the cottages on the green at Maughold Church. It was thickly coated with lime, which when I saw it had fallen away from a part of the small deeply-incised figure below the head; and on picking this clean I found that it was a carefully formed cross. A few years afterwards I obtained permission to take it out, replacing it by a new lintel. I then discovered the beautiful device on the head. Since I placed it at the church a piece has broken off the side; my figure is founded on a rubbing taken before this happened.

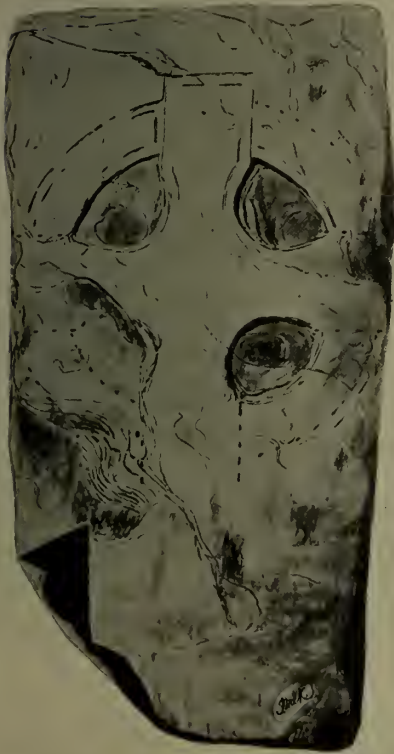
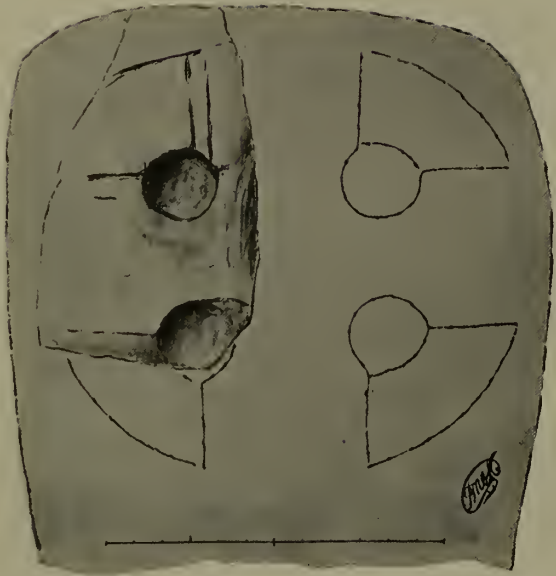
The stone measures fifty-seven inches long by ten to eleven inches wide, and three to three and a half inches thick. Originally it must have been about twenty-two inches diameter across the head; the fust would have been seventeen and a half inches just below the circle, and at a point forty-five inches from the top its width was reduced to twelve inches, evidently to fit into a socket.

¹ *Early Christian Monuments*, part iii., p. 94.

² The probable expanded reading being:—

IN NOMINE
 IHESU CHRISTI
 CRUX CHRISTI
 IN COMMEMORATIONE
 REO[TE]TII
 REQUIESC[IT]

³ *Early Christian Monuments*, iii., p. 495, figs. 534 and 535 (see *ante*, p. 13, fig. 7; and p. 19, fig. 14).



31

32

33

SUNK WORK—PARTLY INCISED AND PARTLY IN RELIEF.

Maughold, (29) Two pieces of Broken Slab, Scale $\frac{1}{2}$; (30) Fragment, Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ (nearly); (31) Worn Slab, Scale $\frac{1}{10}$; (32) Two Pieces of Slab from Coilllean Ard, Scale about $\frac{1}{13}$; (33) Ballaglass, Scale about $\frac{1}{8}$.

It has been roughly round-headed, the upper part being decorated with a hexafoil device, sunk half-an-inch, surrounded by a plain flat border forming a circle twenty inches in diameter, but flattened at the sides.

Four and a half inches below is a small dagger-shaped cross, with pointed shaft and expanding ends to the other limbs, which may have been balanced by another by its side. Both the hexafoil device, which on the Bishop's monument, 27, I take to be a form of cross derived from the Chi-Rho symbol, and these crosslets may have been suggested by it.

UNDECORATED AND UNINSCRIBED—HAVING PART OF THE BACKGROUND SUNKEN

29.—Maughold. Plate xi.—Intermediate between the incised outline crosses and those in relief are one or two of which a small portion of the background is sunken, as was the hexafoil design in the last.

Some years ago I noticed the head of the stone here figured turned upside down, and serving as headstone to a modern grave a few yards north of the gallery door of Maughold Church. During the excavations of 1900 the shaft was discovered near the same door at a depth of from two feet to three feet below the surface; a small portion of the left limb is gone, owing to a break along a joint of the stone. The original measurement was forty-eight inches by about nineteen inches, tapering to fourteen inches at bottom, and two and a quarter inches to three inches thick. One face bears a Celtic cross and circle outlined by two incised lines one inch apart and one-eighth to three-sixteenths of an inch wide, by one-sixteenth of an inch deep. Between the limbs, however, the outer of these is widened to an inch and a quarter, forming a sunken circle connecting them; the spaces between, not having been cut away, give the appearance of flat bosses. The head measures thirteen and a half inches by six and a quarter inches, and arms eight and a half inches, the shaft being twenty-three inches by five and a half inches, tapering to five inches at the bottom.

We now come to those which have the spaces between the limbs sunk, as we find on some eighth and ninth century pieces at Clonmacnois.

30.—Maughold. Plate xi.—In 1894 the Rev. S. N. Harrison found in the Vicarage garden at Maughold a fragment measuring fourteen inches by nine inches, and two inches thick. This shows on one face traces of a Celtic cross broken across the centre. The only now remaining space between the limbs is sunk a quarter of an inch; it defined the inner line of a connecting circle three and an eighth inches wide. The limbs were bordered by a fine line. The original size must have been about twenty-four inches square if the cross were equal-limbed.

31.—Maughold. Plate xi.—A much-worn slab now set up with the rest in Maughold Churchyard for very many years formed the upper step leading to a barn opposite the Vicarage. By permission of the proprietor, Mr. Summers, I removed it to the Churchyard, replacing it by another stone, in October, 1885. It measures thirty-eight inches by nineteen to twenty inches, and four inches thick. On one face may still be seen the faint traces of a cross and circle, incised in outline, and having a border line. The spaces between the limbs are sunk a quarter of an inch. There is no trace of a shaft to the cross.

32.—Maughold. Plate xi.—Another early piece in my collection was brought to me in 1894 by Mr. J. Quilleash from the Ard Cooillean, or Cooil Ard, near the Rhenny, Dhoon,

Maughold, where there has been an ancient keeil, all traces of which have long since disappeared. This is a rectangular slab, broken in two, measuring thirty-three inches by twenty-one inches, and about two inches thick. On one face are the faint remains of a Celtic cross with circle; the square ends of the limbs, starting a short distance before reaching the circle, give to the spaces left between them an appearance like sunken heads of thistles, especially in the present worn state of the stone. We find the same thing on an eighth century cross at Clonmacnois¹ and on several others in Ireland and Scotland. The limbs crossed over the circle, the right one, which alone can be traced to its full length, extending about a quarter of an inch beyond; the shaft is barely visible to a length of ten and a half inches. The circle was bordered by a fine line; the spaces between the limbs only were sunk for about a quarter of an inch.

33.—Maughold. Plate xi.—Mr. W. H. Haslam, of Ballaglass, Maughold, in 1894 brought me a small cross found about twelve months previously by the Rev. S. N. Harrison, near the site of the old chapel which formerly stood at the dam, about a hundred and fifty yards north of the house. The stone, now in my collection at Ramsey, measures thirty inches by thirteen and a half inches, and four inches thick. One face shows a cross patee within a circle, nine inches in diameter and one inch wide; the upper limb extended two and a half inches above, and the shaft prolonged nine and a half inches below the circle. The cross, which is incised, has also a border line; at the bottom of the shaft, which slightly expands, the lines are not closed. There is a mark two and a quarter inches below, as though it had been intended to be longer. The spaces between the limbs are sunk about three-sixteenths of an inch. It has been worked with a square-pointed chisel.

34.—Santon. Plate xiv.—Oswald, *Trans. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. ii., pt. 2, p. 507; pl. 19, fig. K (1823). Cumming (1857), p. 42; pl. 14, fig. 48. *Archæol. Cambr.* (1866), 12, p. 251, 55; Hübner, *Ins. Brit. Christ.* (1876), xiv., p. 60, No. 164. *Archæol. Cambr.* (1895), p. 205.

This stone, it appears, was dug up six feet from underground, when the present church was being built at Santon; that would be about 1782. For a long time it was supposed to have been lost, but having been re-discovered by the Rev. T. Talbot, he had it conveyed to Douglas and handed over to the Governor for the Insular Museum. It is now in Castle Rushen. It is a rough pillar of local trap or whinstone,² measuring forty-five inches long by nine inches wide and four and a half inches thick. A space of about twenty-two inches has been slightly sunk on one face by an eighth to a quarter of an inch, and smoothed for the inscription. There is no other carving of any kind. The letters are evenly cut, a quarter of an inch wide by one-sixteenth of an inch deep. The reading is quite clear:—

A V I T — MONOMENT —

The first three characters, or four letters—for the A and V are combined, such ligatures being not infrequent—are in plain Roman capitals. The fourth and the last show final I horizontally, as found frequently in Wales (Hübner gives thirteen instances) and half-a-dozen times in Cornwall and Devon. The fifth is very interesting; it is evidently the M of early

¹ Petrie, I., iv.

² Geologically, it is interesting. The back shows a thin surface of the blue clay slate, through which the dike had protruded.

MSS., and the nearest approach to it in lapidary inscriptions occurs on a stone from Llaniltern, near Llandaff, in the word VENDUMAGLI.¹ In this, however, as generally in the MSS., the bow of the M is of the same length as the stem lines; in the Santon stone it is distinctly shorter.

Jamieson, quoted by Cumming, p. 42, says: "The characters seem pretty nearly to resemble the old Teutonic as given by Astle, Tab. 1, p. 64." Really, however, there is very little resemblance. He is not much happier in comparing the fifth character with the specimen of Roman uncials in Tab. xi, p. 84, from the copy of the Gospels in the Harleian Library. It bears a much closer resemblance to the second M in the word "*Memores*," as shown in *Celtic Ornaments from the "Book of Kells,"* xxvi., fig. 18*b*.

The seventh character does not stand for R, as surmised by Hübner, but certainly for N, as does also the eleventh. A precisely similar form is seen in Hübner's No. 52.² The ninth is the ordinary minuscule M frequently met with. We have a similar mixture of minuscule and majuscule in many inscriptions in Wales, where, however, the use of capitals is the rule, as it is also in the North of Britain and in Gaul. In Ireland capitals are rarely found in lapidary inscriptions.

The sense is evident—"The Tomb of Avitus"—but the formula is curious, both words being in the genitive. Either we are to suppose a word such as *Locus* or *Loculus* to be understood,³ or we must consider the second word as gen. by attraction. The latter, I think, is the explanation, such a use of the genitive having been suggested by the Ogam inscriptions, just as it was after them that these early Latin inscriptions were cut vertically on the pillars, instead of horizontally. The Llaniltern inscription just referred to—VENDUMAGLI HIC JACIT—is an instance of this curious use of the genitive.

Of the name Avitus we have no other trace in the Island: it can be most nearly matched on a monument in Wales. In *Arch. Camb.*, 5th s., vi. 23, Professor Rhys describes a bi-lingual inscription of the sixth or seventh century at Eglwys Cymmun, in which the name AVITORIA occurs in Roman capitals, and AVITORIGES in Ogams, the latter being the genitive form of Avitoriga. This is referred to also in his work on the Welsh people.⁴

UNDECORATED—IN RELIEF

We now come to pieces still undecorated, but with crosses sculptured in full relief.

35.—Santon. Plate xii.—We have only one instance of a plain Latin cross in relief. It is the same as marked by the Ordnance Survey taken about 1864, at Ballacorris, Santon, near the site of an old keeil, the name of which is lost, where it was seen by the Rev. E. B. Savage in 1890. The farmer sold it to Mr. Leece, who had it for some years in his collection at Andreas, and afterwards at Douglas, where he died in 1897. It was then secured by Mr. Gelling, Douglas, and is now placed in the Parish Church at Santon.

¹ *Lap. Wall.*, p. 7, pl. 2, fig. 4.

² Hübner takes both words to be names in the genitive case, the word *filius* being understood, and reads—AVITI NOROMERTI.

³ The ellipsis of a word such as *Locus* is of course frequent, and, if it be objected that this would not make sense in the present instance, one may refer to Bede, who has a similar phrase in his *Ecclesiastical History*, bk. iv., chap. iii., where, speaking of St. Chad, he says: "the place of the sepulchre is a wooden tomb," etc.—"*est autem locus idem sepulcri tumba lignea.*"—*Complete Works of Venerable Bede* (Rev. J. A. Giles, 1843), vol. iii., p. 24.

⁴ *The Welsh People* (by John Rhys, M.A., etc., and David Brynmer-Jones, LL.B., etc.), p. 18.

The stone, which is rectangular, measures fifty-four inches by twenty-two inches, and four inches thick. One face bears a Latin cross, thirty-seven inches by fourteen inches across the arms, the width being about four inches, which at the top is five-eighths of an inch in relief, gradually reduced to the bottom of the shaft. There is a slight expansion of the shaft, but not of the limbs; the head, indeed, tapers about half an inch, and is inclined slightly to the right, which is unusual.

36.—Braddan. Plate xii.—Now set on the mound with the larger crosses in Braddan churchyard, about eighteen yards south of the church tower, where it was placed by Mr. Swinerton, who some years ago kindly removed it for me from the position in the west wall of the tower in which I had first seen it. It is broken down the middle, and measures thirty-six inches long by five and a half inches to six and a half inches wide and six inches thick. One face is flaked away; the other bears a Latin cross with circle, three-quarters of an inch in relief at the head, the spaces between the limbs and the circle three-eighths of an inch deep, and below the circle dwindling to nothing. The cross occupies the whole length, the head projecting five inches above the circle; the remaining arm would measure six inches to the outside of the circle, the total width having been probably about twelve inches. The arm expands from three and a half inches at the shaft to four inches where it joins the circle; the shaft also expands slightly, and the head tapers. The limbs form an angle with the shaft instead of the curved recess, as in the Celtic form of cross. There is just a trace of a finely-incised border line to the outside of the circle, which crosses over the shaft.

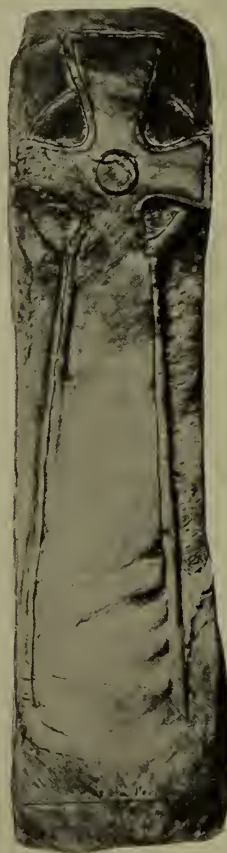
37.—Braddan. Plate xii.—Cumming, 38.

In Braddan Churchyard, set up near the stile at the north-west corner, is a small slab thirty-four and a half inches by twenty inches and two and a half inches thick. One face bears a cross patee, the lower limb extending eleven inches beyond the narrow raised circle, which is sixteen inches in outer circumference, enclosing the other limbs. In the centre is a small incised ring. The cross and surrounding circle stand out from a quarter to half an inch in relief. This was discovered by Mr. W. Kneale about 1856 in a wall near the church. Cumming's measurements are incorrect.

38.—Maughold. Plate xii.—At Maughold a rectangular slab, measuring fifty-two inches by twelve inches, and four inches thick, bears on each face a cross of typical Irish form, the head longer than the arms, the expanding limbs connected by a circle. I cannot say when this was discovered, but it must have been since 1857, and probably since 1865, as it is not mentioned by Cumming either in his book on *Runic Monuments* or in the paper read by him before the Cambrian Archæological Association, at their meeting in Douglas,¹ which was stated to be supplementary to his work on *Runic and Other Monumental Remains*, and, "an account of subsequent discoveries up to the present date."

A. On this face the head is nine and a half inches long, the arm five and three-quarter inches and six and a quarter inches, the shaft thirty-four inches. The circle is in slightly lower relief than the cross, of which the highest part stands out one inch from the surface, gradually reduced to the end of the shaft. The circle is formed by a double bead; the cross bordered by a flat bead, the centre occupied by an incised ring two inches in diameter.

¹ *Arch. Camb.*, xi., p. 460.



39

CROSSES IN RELIEF—UNDECORATED.

38

(35) Ballacorris, Santon, Scale $\frac{1}{2}$ (nearly); (36, 37) Braddan, Scale $\frac{1}{2}$ (nearly) and $\frac{1}{10}$; (39) Maughold (from Photograph of the Stone by Mr. T. Keig), Scale about $\frac{1}{3}$; (38A, B) Maughold.

B. The cross on this face is of slightly different form and proportions, the expansion of the limbs continuous and more marked, but the shaft broader at the top and expanding rather less. The head measures nine inches, the arms five and three-quarter inches, and the shaft thirty-three inches. The circle here consists of a single bead; the cross has a flat border and a central incised ring three inches in diameter. The surface of this face is very much worn, apparently by the tread of people's feet; the other face seems to have suffered from weather only, so that the stone must have been exposed for very many years before being lost sight of. It may have fallen at last, and remained lying flat in a position much exposed to foot traffic.

Unfortunately, the stone was blown down in a storm of November, 1894, and the head now placed beside it, broken clean off.

39.—Maughold. Plate xii.—Cumming, 36.

At Maughold, about twenty yards south of the Church porch, there stands a plain, but handsome, wheel-cross, set in a round socket stone. Unlike any other, it is of Pooilvaish limestone, which no doubt was brought round by boat from the south of the Island to Port Moor. Its total length is sixty-two inches, diameter of the head thirty inches, and width of fust twenty-one inches at the circle, tapering to sixteen inches at the bottom of the panel, and, at fourteen inches below the circle, cut narrower to fit into a socket. In thickness it is four inches, tapering upwards to two inches.

One face exhibits a cross patee on a broad flat circle, twenty-six and a half inches to twenty-seven inches diameter, which is bordered by a double bead, the outer one, which is in higher relief, passing round and enclosing the limbs of the cross, which are similarly bordered. Below the circle a panel across the fust, seven inches to ten inches high where it meets the circle, is formed by a like double bead. The spaces between the limbs are sunk to an inch and one-eighth, the mouldings being a quarter of an inch and an eighth of an inch in relief.

The other face has a circle outlined by a single and broader bead, with a like panel below, but bears no cross.

40.—Lonan. Plate xiii.—In the old Parish Church of Lonan is a small slaty stone, twenty-one and a half inches by seven and a half inches, and an inch and a half thick, showing on one face the remains of a cross which would be equal-limbed, but that the head is distinctly larger than the other limbs. The flat circle connecting the outer ends of the limbs is bordered by plain bead mouldings, of which the outer one encloses the limbs, the inner angles of the limbs being connected by a narrow bead circle. The cross is bordered by a narrow flat moulding. Below the circle an incised line gives the idea of a continuation of the shaft; the sides of the stone also have incised border lines. The lines and sunk portion are worked with a punch; the whole, though simple, is well finished.

41.—Lonan. Plate xiii.—In the same Church is a loose fragment of Silurian grit, eighteen inches square and five inches thick. This was found by Dr. Bradbury in a wall adjoining the churchyard about 1890. One face shows a portion of the head of a cross with circle, the right arm flaked off. In the centre is a small boss in a socket. The cross is bordered by a bead moulding, and, as in the last, the limbs are connected by two circles, each of which is, in this case, bordered by bead mouldings. That of the outer circle which encloses the limbs gives indications of passing to form a border to the edge of the stone itself. It is chiselled a quarter of an inch in relief, the spaces between the limbs being sunk to half an inch.

Though almost square in outline, it is evidently intended for a wheel-cross. The head leans conspicuously to the left. Possibly there was a shaft, as in the next, to which it bears a strong resemblance.

42.—Lonan. Plate xiii.—From Lonan old Church also came the broken wheel-cross now in Castle Rushen. About 1870 Mr. G. Patterson noticed this lying broken on a mound outside the churchyard. He carried it off to Ramsey in order to photograph it. The Captain of the Parish and Parson Cain, Vicar, threatening pains and penalties, demanded its return, and at last it was arranged that it should be sent to Governor Loch, in Douglas. This was done by steamer from Ramsey, which gave rise to a rumour that the stone had been sent off the Island, and was lost. In 1899 it was removed with the other things from Government Office to its present position in the temporary museum in Castle Rushen.

It measures sixty inches by twenty-two inches across the head, and fourteen inches, tapering to twelve inches, across the fust, by three inches thick. It bears on one face a shafted cross having a plain bead border, and terminating in a base or pedestal three inches wide. As in the last two, the inner angles of the square expansion of the limbs are connected by a narrow circle or moulding, and a flat circle, three inches wide, bordered on the outside by a plain bead moulding which encloses the limbs, except the shaft, which overlaps it, joins the outer ends of the limbs. An outer moulding arising from the fust at either side surrounds the head. The shaft tapers slightly towards the bottom, the other limbs slightly expand; the head is inclined to the left. The bead moulding of the pedestal stands out about three-eighths of an inch in relief; between the circles it is a little more than half an inch, and the inner spaces between the limbs and circle three-quarters of an inch. The base or pedestal is unusual.

43.—Marown. Plate xiii.—When we exhumed the cross at Marown 22, in April, 1906, I asked the Vicar to have the lintel stone over the west door carefully examined, and upon taking it down we discovered that it had borne a cross in relief, both faces showing remains of a narrow shaft. Unfortunately the head was broken off and lost. The stone now measures sixty-two inches by fifteen and a half to sixteen inches wide, and two and a quarter to two and three-quarters of an inch thick. The material is blue schist of the neighbourhood, stained with iron, and, whether from previous exposure or by nature, is very rotten.

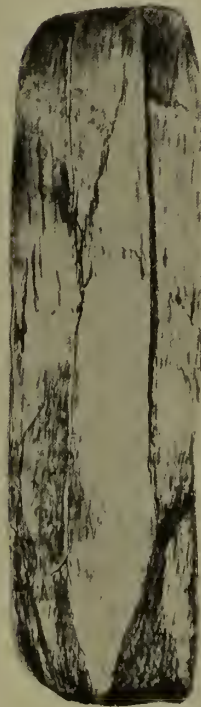
One face shows the shaft, terminating at fifty-one inches from the broken top in an outward curve on the left side, the other side being flaked off; it is seven inches wide, expanding to about eight inches near the bottom, and from half an inch to an inch in relief. The other face is more worn, but shows a similar shaft about six and a half inches wide, expanding to seven inches, and a quarter to half an inch in relief. No indication of pattern can now be seen on either face.

DECORATED—IN RELIEF

A few pieces showing very slight and simple decoration, such as circlets, cups, crosslets, and pellets, may be earlier in date than some of the last. Two of these have the stone itself cruciform in outline.

44.—Bride. Plate xiv.—Kinnebrook, 7. Cumming, 41.

The first, in the Church porch at Kirk Bride, is the broken shaft of a small pillar-cross of new red sandstone, no doubt found in the district as a boulder. In Kinnebrook's time,



CROSSES IN RELIEF—UNDECORATED.

(40, 41, 42) Lonan Old Church, Groudle, Scales respectively about $\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, and $\frac{1}{10}$; (43) Marown Old Church, Scale about $\frac{1}{16}$.

1841, this stood against the bank on the roadside, opposite the old entrance to the churchyard, and it appears to have been still there and unbroken in Cumming's time, 1857. Unfortunately, the head, which, since the present Church was built in 1869, was seen lying for some time in the churchyard, has long been lost, and I have been unable to trace it. I therefore reproduce here Kinnebrook's etching of the stone as he saw it.

Both Kinnebrook and Cumming give the total length as forty-eight inches; its width is fifteen inches at the base, and ten inches above; thickness, seven inches. The present height is twenty-six inches, and the head could not have been more than twelve inches, so that the total would have been thirty-eight, not forty-eight. The head appears to have been ornamented merely by a small incised circle in the centre of each limb, connected one with the other by straight lines. From the lower circle other lines radiated to the angles below the arms. Only the lower circle (three and a quarter to three and three-quarter inches diameter) and a trace of the radiating lines, from an eighth to a quarter of an inch wide, now remain to show the correctness of Kinnebrook's drawing, as the stone is unfortunately broken across just below the arms. Dr. Hibbert-Ware has left a drawing of this stone which agrees with Kinnebrook's and Cumming's figures.

45.—Maughold. Plate xiv.—Another early piece, shaped to the outline of the stone, is in Maughold Churchyard, and measures fifty-seven inches high by eleven inches across the fust, just below the arms, tapering to ten inches, and three inches thick. I first noticed this many years ago at the head of a modern grave, about twenty yards from the north door.

One face bears a central boss, four and a half inches in diameter, and five-eighths of an inch in relief. Down the middle of the shaft, between a raised band, waved at the top in five curves, and another, twelve inches lower down, formed by two incised lines, are five small circular holes, one-half to three-quarters of an inch in diameter by three-eighths of an inch deep, one and a quarter to about two inches apart. The right arm is broken off. Above the boss a line is cut across the head, over which is incised a small linear cross, about five inches square; but whether this is contemporary work I am not certain. I know of no other instance of such a cup ornament; but in Cornwall we meet with designs formed of similar small hollows. (See p. 21.)

46.—German, Peel. Plate xiv.—In the "Guard-house" at Peel Castle is a fragment eighteen inches by fourteen inches, and two inches thick. It appears to have been found in St. Patrick's Church during the restorations in 1873. The design, sculptured in low relief, appears to have consisted of a cross, which may be regarded as equal-limbed, the arms of which extend in gradually diminishing relief almost to the edges of the stone, the upper and lower limbs merging in a broad border. At the centre, and at intended even distances on the limbs of the cross, are five small incised equal-limbed linear cross marks, from two and three-quarters to three and a half inches. The cross stands out half an inch in relief, diminishing to nothing in the side limbs.



FIG. 48—PILLAR-CROSS AT
KIRK BRIDE.
Kinnebrook's Etching.

This piece differs in character from any other monument in the Island, and may perhaps have been an altar slab.¹

The way in which the early missionaries carried their altar stones about with them is illustrated in the story told in some of the lives of St. Patrick, who, upon his return once from Rome with a stone altar which had been consecrated by the Pope, was wishful to take a leper on board. As his crew objected, the Saint flung his altar overboard, telling the leper to sit upon it, which he did, and safely followed the ship, and landed with him in Ireland.

It is remarkable that there appears to be a living tradition of the use of such altar stones in the Isle of Man. Mr. Cashen, the well-known custodian of Peel Castle, informs me that he had always heard that the "Church stone," *Clogh ny Keeillagh*, was carried round by the Priest when taking the Sacrament to the sick; and he regarded our proverbial saying, which is looked upon as a bitter curse—"May *the* stone of the Church be found in the corner of the house"—as having originated from this custom. The bed of the sick person being set "in the corner," it was equivalent to saying, "May you be at death's door." He describes such a Church stone as being much smaller than this (which may not have been a portable one), but marked in the same manner with five crosslets in lines of three.

Such stones have five small incised crosses as marks of consecration. Westwood, 71, 5 (p. 149), figures a supposed altar table at Llanllwyni, Cardigan, about six feet long, marked with three small plain crosses. In the Edinburgh National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland is an altar-slab of sandstone from Coldingham, eleven inches by ten inches, with five incised crosses in circles.

47.—**Rushen.** Plate xiv.—*Report of Archæological Commissioners*, 1878, pl. iii., fig. 2.

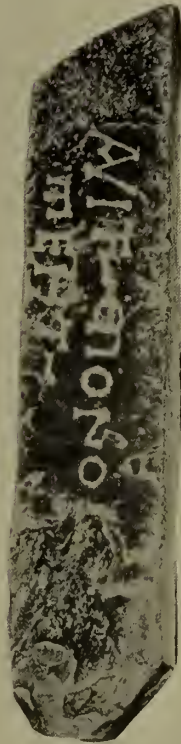
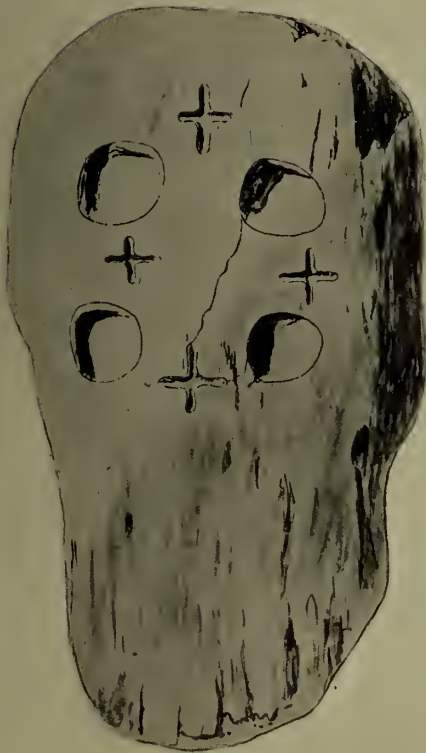
Near Fleshwick, in the parish of Rushen, at the site of an ancient keil on Bradda farm, is a very worn and weathered cross-slab of early form. It measures thirty-eight inches by twenty and a half inches, tapering from a point about twenty-four inches from the top of the slab to sixteen inches, and thence to ten inches at the bottom; it is from two and a quarter inches to three inches thick.

On one face, at a distance of seven inches from the top of the slab, is a cross patee; the spaces between the limbs are worn almost square, and are shallow and flat. The limbs are fairly equal in length and measure about six inches and four inches wide, except the lower one, which is five and a quarter inches. If ever there was a surrounding circle, all traces of it are now worn away, except that the hollow recesses between the limbs probably define its inner border. On each limb is a small incised, equal-limbed linear crosslet (two and a half inches to three and a half inches), such as we find on some early Welsh pieces.²

¹ Small flat stones called altar stones, such as were in use in the early Christian Church from the fourth century, and introduced when first an order had gone forth from Pope Sylvester, A.D. 314-335, that altars should be made of stone; and when it was sometimes found inconvenient to have large slabs of stone, this small square slab was substituted. It was called the ara, or altar stone, and it is said that St. Ambrose, who died in 397, used such an altar stone in a private house in Rome. They were consecrated stones laid on unconsecrated altars when celebrating mass, or when access to a consecrated altar was impossible. . . . It was required that they should be of sufficient size to hold the chalice and Host, and were generally nine inches square; while the five crosses, symbolic of the Saviour's wounds, were engraved upon the surface.—*Christian Inscriptions*, Concluding Notices, p. 157; Petrie, Ed. by Miss M. Stokes.

Skene thinks it not impossible that the coronation stone of Scone (now in Westminster Abbey) may have been the altar where Bonifacius first celebrated the Eucharist after he had brought over the King of the Picts and his people from the Columban to the Roman Church.—*Celtic Scot.*, i., p. 283. He describes this as an oblong block of red sandstone, twenty-six inches long by sixteen inches broad, and ten and a half inches deep; top flat, bears marks of chiselling.

² Some foolish person has cut another small crosslet on the shaft. Fortunately I had a photograph taken and a cast made, as well as the drawing for my figure, before this was done.



47

34

CROSSES IN RELIEF—DECORATED.

(44) Bride, Scale $\frac{1}{17}$; (45) Maughold, Scale $\frac{1}{16}$; (46) Altar-slab, Peel, German, Scale between $\frac{1}{8}$ and $\frac{1}{10}$; (47) from Site of Keeil on Bradda Farm, Rushen, Scale between $\frac{1}{8}$ and $\frac{1}{10}$; (34) Inscribed Stone, Santon (from Photograph of the Stone by Mr. G. Patterson), Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

48.—**Maughold.** Plates xv., xix.—Kinnebrook, 10. Cumming, 37. Kermodé, *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, i., p. 48 (plate).

We have a curious instance of a short inscription in the Hiberno-British characters. This occurs on a well-known cross-slab now in Maughold Churchyard. In 1894, as once before, it had fallen from its position on the hedge at Port-y-Vullen on the road from Ramsey to

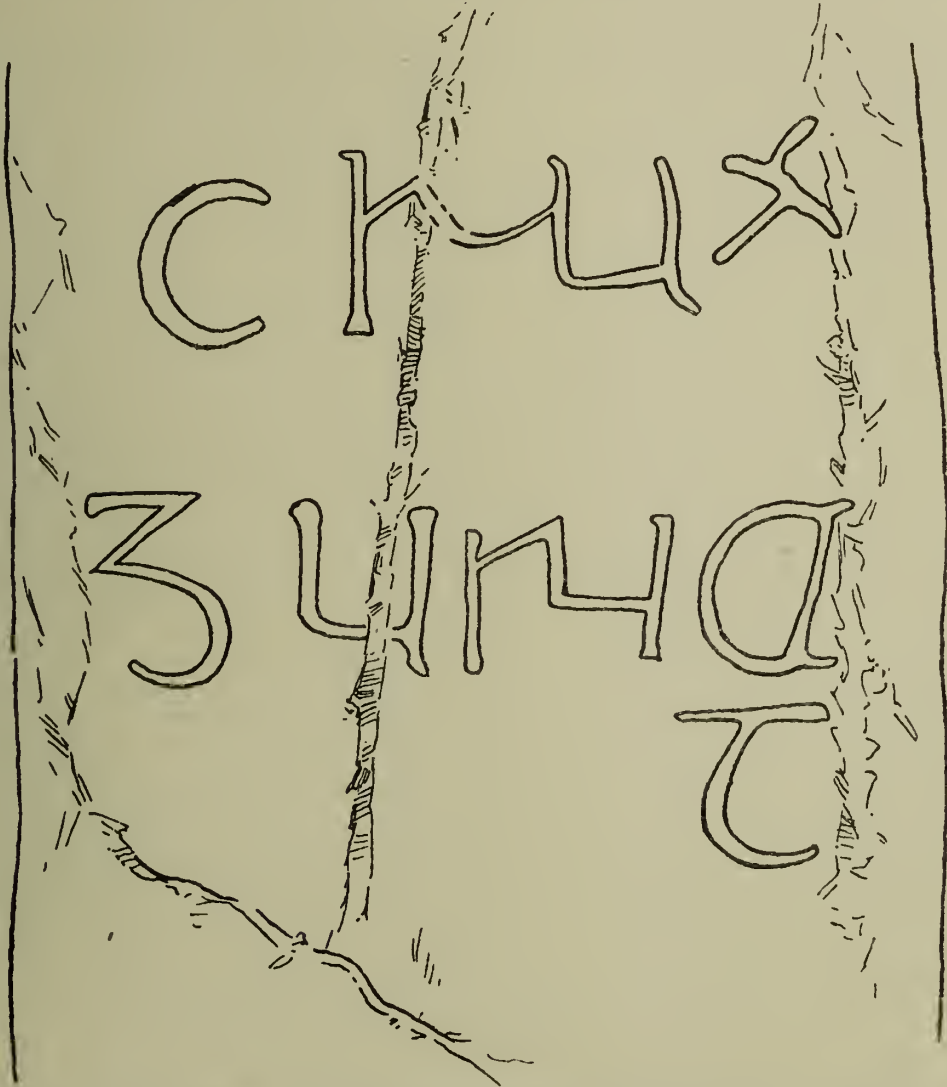


FIG. 49.—INSCRIPTION ACROSS EDGE OF THE PORT-Y-VULLEN STONE, MAUGHOLD 48 (actual size).

Maughold Parish Church. While lying on its edge by the side of the road I happened to pass at a time when the light just caught and set out the inscription, which had never before been noticed. As soon as I could do so I had it removed to the Parish Church, and not being able to get it under cover, placed it in as sheltered a corner as possible. All the other larger Maughold pieces are now gathered around it.

"It was," says Cumming, "originally in the middle of a field, but was removed to its present locality by the owner some years ago"—that is to say, to the roadside hedge at Port-y-Vullen, about a mile and a half south-east of Ramsey. This must have been before 1841, when it was figured by Kinnebrook. Our great naturalist, Edward Forbes, sketched it for a tailpiece to his *British Starfishes*, p. 220, which was published the same year; this shows the face towards the Church, the opposite way to which it had stood since I remember the stone. It seems likely that it had stood originally within the burial ground of the old Keeil belonging to the Ballaterson Treen, which appears to have been situated in this field, by the side of the road leading to the old mine where Mr. W. Cowan remembers to have seen lintel graves exposed.

It is a rectangular slab, the corners slightly rounded, of a fine-grained white trap rock which occurs *in situ* on the Port-y-Vullen beach and as boulder slabs on the eastern slope of Barrule. The stone measures eighty-four inches high by thirty-four inches wide, tapering to thirty inches at about a foot from the bottom, and about five inches thick. One face bears a shafted cross rising from a square pedestal, the extremities of the limbs being connected by a broad flat circle. The centre is occupied by a raised boss, standing out from the surface an inch and a half in relief; and, within the circle, at the points where it is overlapped by the limbs, are four smaller bosses, the spaces between them and the circle being quite plain, so that the actual cross is in fact only suggested. The bosses are encircled, and the shaft and pedestal bordered by a plain bead moulding in slight relief, about a quarter of an inch; all the rest is incised.

The inscription on the right edge, at a point fourteen inches from the top (nineteen inches from the highest part of the stone), reads:—

CRUX GURIAT.

I here give a full-sized figure of it from an outlined rubbing taken by me in 1894. The first word presents no difficulty. The second has the first and last two letters particularly clear, the final T, for want of space, being underneath the A, the others worn and interfered with by the weathering and cracks along the edge of the stone. The formula is unique in the Isle of Man, and rarely met with elsewhere. Once in Ireland, on a fragment at Inismurray, which I examined in July, 1895,¹ the word "crux" appears, the surname by which it was most likely followed having been broken off. In Wales one or two inscriptions begin with this word, not, however, followed by a name.²

The characters are small, under an inch long, the lines from one-sixteenth to an eighth of an inch thick, and only about one-thirtieth of an inch deep; they are cut across the edge of the stone on the end of the right arm of the cross. They consist of the usual Irish or British minuscules of the seventh to the ninth centuries, and correspond closely with those on several inscriptions in Wales, where also ligatures are not uncommon, though I do not know of instances precisely as the RU in our first or the RI in our second word. But in Wales, as stated above, inscriptions are generally in Roman capitals, sometimes mixed minuscules and majuscules, while minuscules are the rule in Ireland.

¹ Petrie, *Christian Inscriptions*, ii., pl. x., fig. 19.

² Westwood, 13, 25, 29.



48

GEOMETRICAL.

49

(48) The Guriat Stone from Port-y-Vullen, Maughold (*from Photograph of the Stone by Mr. T. Keig*); (49) two pieces of Cross-slab from Glionroy, Lonan, placed in their relative position.

Principal Rhys, in a "Note on Guriad," added to my description of this Cross in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, i., p. 52, says the modern spelling *Gwriad* and twelfth century *Guriad*, point back to an earlier form, *Guriat*, of the ninth century or thereabouts. He quotes from Williams's *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Welshmen* that Mervyn, King of Man and of Powys in his own right, was the son of Gwriad ab Elidr ab Sandde ab Algwn ab Tegid ab Gwyar ab Diwg ab Llywarch Hên. But, he adds, the British Museum MS. numbered Harleian 3,859, written before 956, makes Mervyn, the son of Etthil, daughter of Cynan, King of Gwynedd, of the family of Maelgwn and Cunedda. So Gwriad should be the husband of Etthil, and the question is how the connection with the Isle of Man arose? He then proceeds to show that Cynan's brother Howel, who contested his possession of Anglesey or Man, was successful, and drove Cynan out with great loss; but Cynan was afterwards victorious, and drove out Howel once or twice, the last time in 816, in which year Cynan died. Whether *Monia*, the form used in MS. 3,859, means Mona, "Anglesey," or the Isle of Man, he gathers that in either case there was intercourse between Gwynedd and Man, that in his reverses Cynan and his daughter had to betake themselves to Man, and that it was then she was married to Gwriad, who possibly was also an exile there.

It is tempting to think that we may identify the name in this inscription with that of a known character in history; however, whether this view be accepted or not, it is none the less of great importance that the name itself fixes the period of the erection of this stone in the ninth century, as by comparison with it we are better enabled to judge the relative positions of some of our early uninscribed pieces.

49.—**Lonan.** Plate xv.—Kinnebrook, 14. Cumming, 40. Kermodé, *Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist*, April, 1896, vol. iii., p. 113.

Two pieces of a broken cross now set up at the old Parish Church of Lonan, at Groudle, come from Glenroy, above Laxey, in that parish, where they were seen by Kinnebrook (1841) set up against a hedge, the smaller piece lying on the ground, and he describes it as "in the plantation about a quarter of a mile from the house." Cumming also describes it as "broken in pieces in a plantation in Glen Roy in the parish of Maughold"—an obvious error for Lonan. In his figure, which is very bad, he shows it as entire. I find that some time between 1854 and 1864 the tenant of the adjoining farm of Ballaleaney agreed with the tenant of Glionroy for this stone as a lintel, and built it into his cow-shed. A portion of the head was built into a barn on Glionroy, and the rest of it used in building the large reservoir in the plantation, whence it is hardly possible that it can be recovered.

Some years ago, hoping to trace this piece, which had long been lost sight of and forgotten, I accompanied Mr. H. Bishop to Glionroy, where the masons were engaged in building a new barn. We were just in time to rescue the smaller fragment, which had been brought to light in pulling down the old one. It was then that I learnt of the lintel stone, and at once visited Ballaleaney, where I recognized it. There was, however, considerable difficulty in recovering it, and it was not till September, 1895, that I had the pleasure of rescuing it from its unhappy position, and of placing the two pieces in charge of the Vicar, where they now stand within the old Parish Church.

The farmer assured me that the stone, though taken by him from Glionroy, had originally been removed from an old burial ground, of which the remains may still be seen on

Ballaleaney. The two pieces together, as will be seen from my restored drawing, make a slab seventy-four and a half inches long by thirty inches across the head, and twenty-one inches across the fust just below the circle, tapering to about fifteen inches, and four and a half inches thick.

Like the other Lonan pieces, it is wheel-headed. In general appearance also, and workmanship and material, it resembles them. The mason I employed recognized the stone as similar to that found at Garwick, at the south end of Laxey Bay, where fine lintels are procured. The smaller piece shows the upper limb and right arm, with portions of the circle (not two circles, as in the other Lonan pieces) connecting the limbs; the larger one shows the shaft with a small bit of the circle. The circle is flat, with borders of bead moulding; the slab itself is bordered by a double bead, which is continued to surround both cross and circle; the cross also has a bead moulding, which terminates in two double incurved volutes of two convolutions, being met by the re-curved end of the inner bead bordering the edge of the stone. The left one, however, is faulty, the sculptor having missed the line, so that the intended volute resolves actually into concentric circles. Between these volutes, above and below, is a triangular device of three pellets.

The spaces between the limbs and circle are sunk one inch, and at the sides of the shaft from half an inch at the circle to about a sixteenth of an inch at the volutes. A unique design occurs on the shaft immediately below the circle. Kinnebrook's figure, otherwise correct, has missed this detail. In a small panel, eight inches and three-quarters by six inches, tapering to four and a half inches, is a cup-shaped ring five inches in outer diameter, having a long shaft or handle with double-bead and spiral ending; around the cup are four small pellets.

I sent an account of this stone to *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist*,¹ with a figure from a photograph taken for me by Mr. T. Keig, in the hope of gaining some information with respect to this device. The Editor suggested that it might be a shallow pan or patella, such as was found in a "Late Celtic" cemetery at Aylesford, Kent (*Archæologia*, vol. lii., p. 64). He adds:—"A very remarkable illustration of Ezekiel's dream (Ezekiel iv. 1-3) from a tenth century Bible (No. 6, t. iii.) in the National Library at Paris, is given in Viollet le Duc's *Dictionary of Architecture*, vol. i., art. 'Architecture,' in which the 'iron pan' is of exactly the same shape as the object represented on the Lonan Cross." And this is so, the handle even having the same spiral termination.

I had the privilege in 1899 of attending the Greek service at the Russian Legation in Rome, and there witnessed the use of the spoon in the Eucharist then administered to an infant, as was once a universal custom. Later, I was shown some very beautiful examples of early ladles or spoons in the Vatican Museum. In the Greek Church the spoon is used, as was the custom in the primitive Church, for mixing the water with the wine for consecration in the Eucharistic cup, as well as for administering the bread which has been dipped into the wine.² I do not know how late its use obtained in the Western Church: probably until the final break with the Greek Church under Leo IX. in 1054. At all events, our sculptor would doubtless be familiar with it, and as it was used only by the priest, it would be symbolic

¹ Vol. iii., p. 113.

² Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, p. 133.

of his office in the same way as the chalice, which appears to have come into use in this connection early in the twelfth century.

This, I believe, is the meaning of this peculiar figure; if so, it is a unique instance of the spoon or ladle as a symbol on a stone monument. Treated pictorially, we find a baptismal ladle occasionally, as on the broken cross shaft at Kells,¹ where St. John the Baptist is shown pouring water from a ladle on to the head of Christ. So in tenth century pieces found in foundations of the chapter-house at Durham he is holding the ladle over the head of our Lord.² The small pellets at the four corners of the panel may be purely decorative, designed to fill in the spaces, though possibly they may have suggested the Holy Wafer.

CALF OF MAN CRUCIFIX

50.—**Rushen.** Plate xvi.—Cumming, fig. 30. *Reliquary*, vol. xiv., pp. 81-84, and vol. xxv. (1884). Romilly Allen, *Christian Symbolism*, pp. 137, 143, fig. 33.

About the time the plain but handsome cross was set up to Guriat at Port-y-Vullen, on the east coast in the north of the Island, another artist was engaged on the Calf Island, off the south coast, upon a small monument which for fineness and delicacy of workmanship exceeds anything that is known of stone work of that early period, while in respect of the treatment, which is early Byzantine art, it is unique.

This, which is now in the possession of Miss Quayle, Bridge House, Castletown, was found by Mr. Quayle, grandfather of the late Clerk of the Rolls, when tenant of the Calf, in making use for building purposes of some of the stone from the ruined chapel. He also was Clerk of the Rolls, and, as he died in 1790, it must have been discovered before that date. The stone is, unfortunately, broken, and now measures twenty-six inches by nine and a half inches, and an inch and a half thick. Originally it must have been at least sixteen inches wide, and about twenty-nine inches to thirty inches high. The upper half of one face is occupied by a sunken rectangular panel, probably when perfect about sixteen inches square, with plain flat border, containing the representation of the Crucifixion. The cross is a Latin one. The figure of Christ is fully draped. There is no nimbus. The long hair is divided in the middle, the beard forked, the head is upright, the eyes wide open, the body and limbs extended quite straight along the shaft and arms of the cross, the feet are pierced with separate nails.

The richness of the ornamentation is on the robe, the "Tunica Palmata," which is covered with a simple but effective design of fine diagonal lines and, below, with alternate rows of small pellets, bordered by heavy cords. It is fastened at the breast by a circular brooch, decorated with a figure-of-eight plait. Below is the device of the four-fold ring, looping externally, the upper part crushed to fit into the triangular space filled by it. Below this, on the skirt, we find the triquetra and double spiral. At the right side of the cross stands a bearded soldier with a spear. He is helmeted and clothed in a tunic with similar, but less

¹ O'Niel, *Irish Crosses*, pl. 30.; *Christian Symbolism*, p. 231.

² Bronze spoons, engraved with a cross, found at Llanfair, in Wales, are suggested to have been Eucharistic spoons used for the administration of the consecrated wine. Warren, however (p. 133), thinks that they were more probably employed for conveying a little water into the chalice of wine before consecration. Small bronze spoons found under St. Martin's Cross, Iona, and a diminutive gold one found in the river Bann, may be culinary spoons. Western Scotland.

elaborated, ornament; his arms bare. This must have been balanced by a figure of the sponge-bearer with the reed, now unfortunately broken away and lost. It is likely there were figures of angels or cherubs at either side of the head; this also is broken away, but on the right may still be seen what looks like the top of one of their wings, taken by Cumming to represent "the Divine hand pointing to the act of Crucifixion."

Mr. Romilly Allen, who has made a special study of the subject, has treated of it very fully in his work on *Christian Symbolism* (pp. 138-149), and in so interesting and instructive a manner that I hope I may be allowed to quote at some length. He points out how the representation of Christ on the Cross, never met with in the paintings in the Catacombs of Rome during the first four centuries, belongs to the Lombardo-Byzantine type of Scripture subjects in Christian art. The very earliest example handed down to us is that in the Syriac Gospel, A.D. 586; and the mosaic in the Oratory, erected by Pope John VII. in honour of the Virgin (705-7), was one of the first instances in which the Crucifixion was represented publicly and officially. He goes on to say:—"The method of representing the Crucifixion at the present time has been arrived at by a gradual process of development, as has been the case with most other Christian symbols.

"On the sculptured sarcophagi of Rome and elsewhere of the fifth and sixth centuries the Agnus Dei is seen bearing the Chi-Rho monogram on its forehead, then with the plain Cross on its shoulder, then placed on an altar with the Cross behind it, and showing wounds with blood flowing, and, lastly, the Lamb is enclosed within a medallion forming the centre of a Cross.

"The next step was to substitute the actual figure of the Saviour for the symbolical Lamb. This change was effected by the Quinisext Council, held at Constantinople in A.D. 683, which decreed as follows:—"We pronounce that the form of Him Who taketh away the sin of the world, the Lamb of Christ our Lord, be set up henceforth in human shape on images, instead of the Lamb formerly used."

Describing the miniature contained in the celebrated copy of the Four Gospels in the Medici-Laurentian Library of Florence, which was written in the year 586 by Rabula, a scribe in the monastery of St. John, in Zagla, a city of Mesopotamia,¹ he observes:—

"Here Christ is shown crucified with the two thieves; above are the sun and moon, and, on each side, below, the soldier piercing our Lord's right side with a spear, and the sponge-bearer carrying a vessel with vinegar. . . . The arms and feet of the Saviour are bare, but the rest of the body is clothed in a loose tunic. Life has not yet become extinct, for the eyes are open. The body is fixed to the Cross by four nails, one through each foot and one through each hand. The head is slightly inclined, and the legs are not crossed, but hang down vertically.

"This, then, is a typical example of the treatment of the Crucifixion in Byzantine art at the end of the sixth century. Although the accessories and the minor details vary slightly, there was but little change in the main features of the scene until the eleventh century, after which time a marked alteration took place. The Saviour is represented after death, instead of before: the body is bent, the legs crossed, and a single spike substituted for the two nails

¹ Westwood.



(50) The Calf of Man Crucifix, Scale $\frac{1}{3}$ (nearly).



BRONZE CRUCIFIX FOUND AT ATHLONE.

(IN THE MUSEUM OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY IN DUBLIN.)

From Stuart's "Sculptured Stones of Scotland."

through the feet; the eyes are closed, and the body is naked, with the exception of the cloth round the waist."

Reference is then made to three Irish MSS. which contain illuminations of the Crucifixion, and to three bronze plates in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy, which are figured. An outline and beautifully clear figure is also given of the Cross under consideration.

The two small metal plates in Dublin referred to show the spear-holder at the right side of the Cross, as in our example and in the Florence MS.; we find this also in other early MSS. and in the later sculptures, as at Aycliff, Durham.¹

In Ireland, the Crucifixion is the favourite of Scripture subjects for treatment, being met with about sixteen times, mostly on the later high crosses, as at Monasterboice, Kells, and Clonmacnois. Mr. Romilly Allen mentions seven Scottish examples; and there are a few in Durham and Northumberland. In Wales, I think, there are only two—namely, at Llangan and Meiford.² The latter shows the figure of Christ with no accessories, and this is the case also with many of the Scottish and Irish examples, and universally with the early Cornish crosses.

None of these, however, approach so nearly in treatment to the Byzantine model as this Calf of Man piece; indeed, the only representation of the Crucifixion with which it is comparable is that on the bronze plate from Clonmacnois, now in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.³ This has been assigned, on the high authority of Dr. Petrie, to the ninth century. The ornamentation on the robes is of a different type, consisting of bands of Celtic knotwork, spirals, and angular key-fret (see Plate xvii.). The Calf of Man Crucifix is more realistic, and the ornamentation more archaic; we may safely regard it as earlier, and dating at latest from the beginning of the ninth century, and as designed by an artist who had derived his inspiration directly from Oriental sources.

The late Sir Henry Dryden made a finished drawing of this beautiful stone from a cast which I sent to him, and had it photo-lithographed, kindly presenting me with copies for my present work, which I have added accordingly (see page 23, fig. 16). It agrees with my own drawing in almost every detail of the elaborate ornament. The carving is from one-sixteenth to one-eighth of an inch in relief, the diagonal lines exceedingly fine.

GEOMETRICAL DESIGNS

51.—Maughold. Plate xviii.—Cumming,⁴ *Archæol. Camb.* (1866). *Manx Soc.*, vol. xv., p. 12.

This stone was first described by Cumming in his contribution to the Cambrian Archæological Association at Douglas in 1865. I remember seeing it in the burial ground at Keeil Chiggyrt (sometimes called Keeil Casherick), on Ballafayle, in the parish of Maughold. In the year 1872 it was brought to Ramsey to be photographed, and subsequently my father had it placed along with the others at the Parish Church.

¹ Stuart, *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, ii., xc.

² Westwood, *Lap. Wall.*, pl. 15, 1, 3; 72, 3.

³ Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, ii., pl. 10. *Christian Symbolism*, p. 143.

⁴ Cumming's figure, from a sketch made by Mr. Blight, is wrong in showing the design on the limb the same as on the other two.

It is wheel-headed—a form unusual in this district. Cumming's figure, from a sketch by Mr. Blight, is not to scale, and is incorrect in detail; it shows it in one piece, but when I saw it in 1871, the lower part was broken off. I have a note that the total length was about sixty-eight inches, but it now measures only thirty-four; the diameter of the head is eighteen inches, and width of the fust twelve inches, tapering slightly to the bottom; the thickness is about four inches.

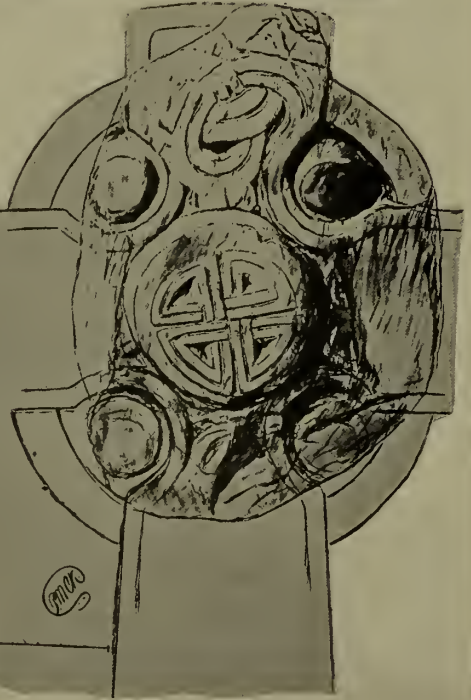
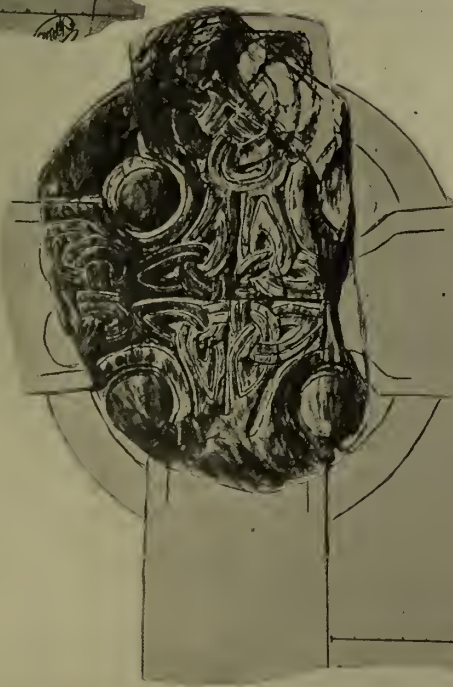
One face only is sculptured, showing a cross patee, the limbs with angular junction, not bordered, but defined by knotwork surrounded by a circle of bead moulding. On the upper and right limbs the design consists of two double triquetra knots; the left arm has a plait-of-four formed by a continuous band, but the design is completed by another short band from the centre of the outer end to the lower corner of the inner end; it is not, as shown by Mr. Blight, a repetition of the design on the other arm. The lower limb is surrounded by a band, the corners of which are overlapped by the ends of two other bands crossing in the middle; the points of crossing and of overlapping being emphasized by small circles interlaced with the bands. The central space is occupied by a plait-of-three in an annular ring, within which is a smaller ring of twist in an endless cord. The sculpturing is three-sixteenths of an inch in relief.

On the fust, in the same relief, is a human figure, apparently nude, with limbs partially outstretched. The head is large, eyes wide open, ears exaggerated, the beard pointed. It must, I think, be intended for a figure of Christ. The peculiar design on the lower limb I have only seen elsewhere on an Anglian cross bearing a Runic inscription, found at Chester-le-Street, North Durham, and dated from 700 to 800. *O. N. R. Mon.*, vol. iii., p. 461.

52.—Maughold. Plate xviii.—This sadly-mutilated piece at Maughold Church was brought to light by my father when pulling down an old barn at the Vicarage in 1875. It measures twenty-four inches by seventeen inches, and three and a half inches thick, and must originally have been at the least thirty inches by eighteen inches.

One face only is sculptured, having a shafted cross with circle. As in the last, the limbs meet at an angle; they are straight-edged to their junction with the circle, where they slightly expand, except the shaft, which continues straight. Each limb has a design of two diagonal oval rings interlaced, but in the upper one the ends of one ring do not actually meet, so that it becomes really a band lapped three times. The circle connecting the limbs, which in this case is a true one, has had in each quarter an endless band folded in a plait-of-four; only one of these remained when I took my rubbing, and in September, 1891, I found this also broken off. These interlaced bands and rings have been bordered by finely-cut lines. The shaft shows traces below the rings of another design, perhaps consisting of two small diagonal rings interlaced with a square or diamond-shaped one; below this has been some further device, now too broken to be deciphered.

When I had the stone cast there remained on the right side a small portion of a flat border two inches wide, decorated with a plait-of-four, and doubtless this was originally continued to form a rectangular panel enclosing the cross, which must have measured about twenty-four inches by thirteen. Unfortunately this, together with the end of the right arm, has since been flaked off, but I have now had the loose piece cemented on. There are several instances of rectangular borders on early slabs at Clonmacnois, sometimes plain,



GEOMETRICAL.

(51) From Keil Chiggyrt, Ballafayle, Maughold ; (52) Panel Cross, Maughold, Scale $\frac{1}{2}$ (nearly) ; (53B, A) Lezayre.

sometimes decorated with key-patterns. Cross and circle are bordered by flat bead-mouldings. The measurements are as follows:—head, seven and a quarter inches long by three inches expanding to five; the right arm, six inches by two and three-quarters to four and a half; the left arm (broken) must have been half an inch longer; shaft, broken at thirteen inches; width, three and a quarter inches, expanding by a quarter of an inch to point where broken. The circle, two and a quarter inches wide, is about thirteen inches in outer diameter. The cross and circle are half an inch in relief, the knotwork one-eighth of an inch.

The centre has been sunk from an eighth to a quarter of an inch, so as to form the outline of a minor cross with pointed limbs, framed by the surrounding designs, and measuring eight inches by five and three-quarter inches.

53.—Lezayre. Plate xviii.—This fragment is the only one yet found in the parish of Lezayre. I first heard of it from the Vicar, Rev. A. A. Bridgeman, when once I asked him how it happened that there were no sculptured stones in his parish. He told me that when he came there in 1879 he had found a big stone in the Vicarage cellar, but whether carved or not he did not know. As will be seen from my drawing, it is the broken head of an elaborately decorated cross of Celtic form sculptured on both faces in rather high relief. The head has been rounded, the limbs slightly projecting. It measures twenty-one by fourteen inches, and six inches thick; the original diameter of the head seems to have been eighteen to nineteen inches; the height—if, as is likely, it was a shafted cross—may have been about forty-two inches. Probably there were spaces at the sides of the shaft, though whether they were the full width of the circle we cannot now say.

A. This face shows the cross bordered by a plain bead; each limb has borne some interlaced design, but the stone is now too broken to determine them. In the centre is a large flat boss, seven and a half inches in diameter, and standing out one and an eighth inch in relief. It bears as ornament the device of four-fold ring externally looped, formed in this instance by a double band. Four bosses occupied the recesses between the limbs.

B. A similar cross appears on this face. In the hollows at the junction of the limbs are four flat-topped bosses, about two inches in diameter, and three-quarters of an inch in relief. The centre is occupied by a device of four triquetras formed by a continuous interlaced band. The left arm has a double triquetra knot. The design on the head, unfortunately broken, may have been intended for a ring around which is looped an endless band—a four-fold ring, in the form of two figures of eight. A somewhat similar design on a larger scale appears to have occupied the upper limb on the other face.

All the bands of the different devices are double-beaded. The stone exhibits good design and skilled workmanship with a square-ended punch, the cross and circle being about five-eighths of an inch in relief, the knotwork from one-eighth to three-eighths of an inch.

54.—Maughold. Plate xix.—Cumming does not mention this, and I suppose had not seen it in 1865. My father found it lying in the churchyard at Maughold, and the worn condition of its surface leads one to think that it must have been long used as a paving stone, possibly at the door of the church. He had it set up against the south pillar inside the church gates about 1871. It is a rectangular slab of the same white trap rock as the Port-y-Vullen stone, 48, measuring sixty-four inches by twenty-two, tapering to twenty inches, and from three and a half to four and a half inches thick. One face only is carved, having a shafted cross

differing in form from those already described. In the recesses at the junction of the limbs are slight projections, caused apparently by a square-shaped ring of plait-work, which occupied the centre of the cross. The limbs are square-ended, the shaft, which is quite straight, terminates at a point about nineteen inches from the bottom of the stone, in an apparently square pedestal, formed by the space at either side of the shaft being sunk to this line.

The stone is so worn that only the left upper quarter of the flat circle connecting the limbs, and a faint indication of the right one, now remain; this has evidently not been in relief, but merely defined by incised lines, thus connecting the design with that of the Guriat cross, 48. The shaft is now three-eighths of an inch in relief, but may originally have been half as much again. It is so badly worn that I cannot say whether there was interlaced work on the shaft and limbs, but traces remain which seem to indicate a square ring of plait-work round the centre. The slab itself has a narrow, plain bead-border an inch wide by three-eighths of an inch in relief. The cross has been carefully drawn, the head and left arm are eleven inches long, the right ten inches, the shaft thirty inches. They have all the same width of five and a half inches. The circle, three and three-quarter inches wide, would have had an outer diameter of twelve inches if complete. I feel certain that the two lower quarters were omitted, as we see on a worn slab from Crail, Fifeshire, where, however, the stone is covered with figures.¹

55.—Maughold. Plate xix.—Kinnebrook, 13. Cumming, 35.

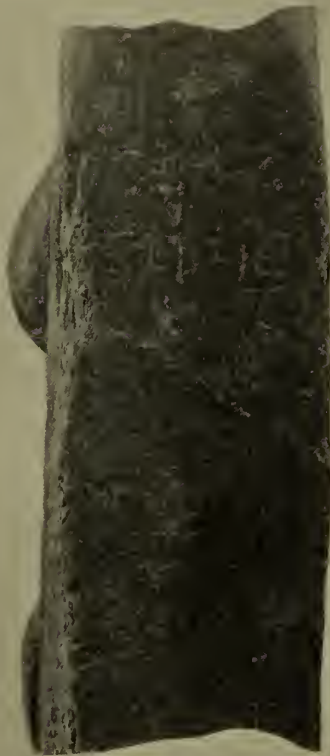
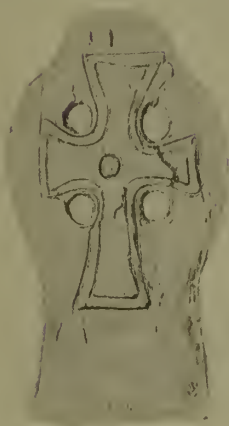
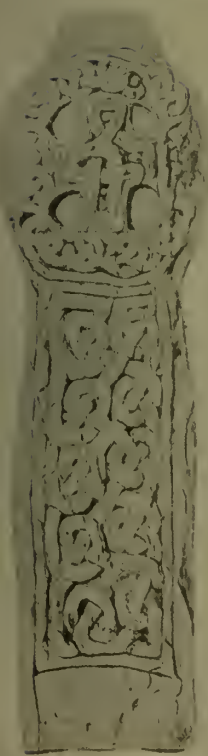
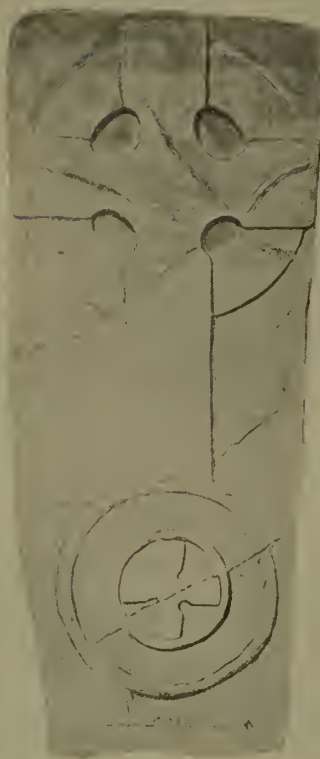
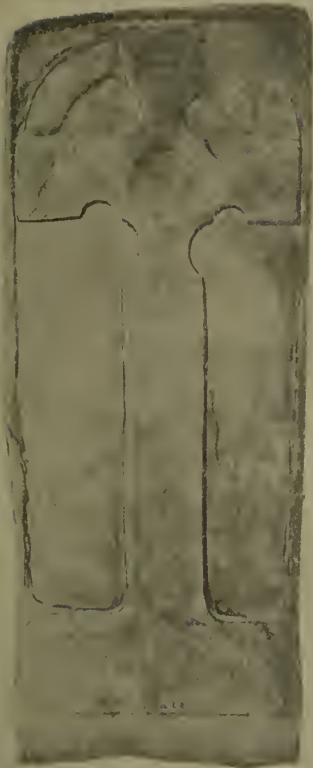
Another large stone, set up by my father in 1875 against the north pillar of Maughold church gate, had for many years lain flat on the top of a grave near the east window, where it was seen by Kinnebrook in 1841. It is greatly worn by the tread of many feet, and like the last and, possibly, one or two other pieces, must, I think, at one time have formed part of a pavement either within or without the church. The stone measures ninety-one inches by twenty-nine, tapering towards the bottom to twelve, and from two to four inches thick. It is of the same hard trap rock as 48 and 54, with veins of white quartz running across. Hard as it is, the still harder quartz veins stand out an eighth of an inch, indicating the amount of wear by which the surface has been ground away.

This is our only example of two encircled crosses connected by one shaft. The form is that of the Celtic cross with square-ended limbs, connected by a broad flat circle, which is approximately a true one, beyond which the limbs slightly project. The smaller circle at the lower end of the shaft contains an equal-limbed Celtic cross, nine inches in diameter. Notwithstanding its worn state, I can see in the smaller circle slight indications of a close plait-work, which is bordered by plain bead mouldings. The cross and circle stand out from three-eighths to a quarter of an inch in relief, the recesses between the limbs being sunk to one inch.

56.—Braddan. Plate xix.—Kinnebrook, 24. Cumming, 16.

I have some hesitation in placing the stone set up by the stile at the west gate to Braddan churchyard. Though the faulty execution and use of pellets seem almost to suggest early Scandinavian work following unfamiliar Celtic models, yet the designs are

¹ *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, iii., p. 364, fig. 381.



56

GEOMETRICAL.

48B

(54, 55) Maughold ; (56A, B) Braddan ; (48B) Edge of Guriat Stone, Maughold, showing Inscription.

From Photograph of the Stone by Mr. T. Keig.

purely Celtic, and as there is no other indication of its period I see no position better than this to which it has claim.

Kinnebrook's figure shows it in use as the dividing stone of the stile, from which it had been removed when Cumming wrote in 1857. It is wheel-headed, with the limbs slightly projecting, the spaces between them and the circle pierced; and measures seventy-two inches by thirteen inches across the neck and seventeen inches across the widest part, by three to three and a half inches thick.

One face is sculptured in relief, the limbs decorated with a design which looks like a badly drawn double figure-of-eight knot, or four-folded ring formed of a double band; three pellets fill in as many spaces left by the knotwork. This is surrounded by a circle of twist-and-ring. The shaft bears a rectangular panel bordered by a plain bead, with another moulding to separate it from the circle above, and, ornamented by an unusual form of loop-plait in two parallel columns, connected at the bottom but not at the top. There are irregularities in the twist-and-ring design, and in the panel, at the right upper corner, a ring takes the place of the loop, though not necessary for the completion of the pattern. On the same side the third or central loop is also converted into a ring, evidently in this case by carelessness of the workman. It is badly worn at the bottom, but Cumming's figure is distinctly wrong. The right corner is flaked away, but there can be no doubt about it, and sufficient of the other remains to show that it was connected with this, though some hesitation is shown in the overlapping, which is irregular. The nearest approach to the particular form of loop-plait on this stone occurs on a broken wheel-cross at Aspatria,¹ on which, however, the direction of the loops is reversed. The carving is in low relief, scarcely a quarter of an inch. The spaces between the limbs and the circle are pierced.

The reverse shows an incised cross of early form, measuring twenty-two inches by fourteen, with indications of a circle connecting the limbs. In the centre is a ring, two and a quarter inches in diameter. A fine line forms a border to the cross, about half-an-inch wide. Such a form of cross occurs at Daltallachan, Kirkcudbrightshire, and at Gainsford, Durham.²

57.—Lonan. Plate xx. and diagram.—Kinnebrook, 16.³ Cumming, 20.

Another stone with pure plait-work decoration is equally remarkable for the badness of its workmanship. This is at Groudle, in the old parish churchyard of Lonan—a large wheel-cross, ninety-nine inches in total height; the head is thirty-eight inches across, the fust twenty-four inches, and the stone is four inches thick. It stands in a long plain socket, south of the church, possibly in the position in which it was originally set up. One face only is carved, showing an equal-limbed Celtic cross, the arms, as in the other Lonan crosses, connected by two circles, both cross and circles, and the spaces between, being covered with plait-work. Below, across the fust, are four sunken bands with plaits alternately of three and of four. The plait-work now stands out about a sixteenth of an inch in relief, but has been much worn by exposure to the weather; the circular hollows between the limbs are sunk three-fourths of an inch, the spaces between the two circles rather less.

¹ *Crosses, etc., Carlisle* (W. S. Calverley), p. 12.

² Stuart, *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, cxiv.

³ Kinnebrook's figure, though incorrect, gives a good idea of the appearance of the stone; Cumming's is hopelessly bad and misleading.

This is by far the most difficult piece of plait-work I have had to trace, and it has taken me many weary months to do so. At one time I was inclined to think that it was merely a pseudo-plait, in reality a hopeless tangle of discontinuous bands. Upon finally completing my full-sized drawing with the aid of the cast and of many tracings, I was, however, able to account for each particular portion of every band, and found the plait to be composed of no fewer than nineteen separate straps or strands, most of which form "dead-ends" against other straps. Unfortunately the median lines with which they were decorated either were discontinued or have been worn away, making it much more difficult to follow. Not only are there an unusual number of dead-ends, but there are many instances of irregular lapping over, or under, two and even three times in succession, while some of the straps are very short. The best part of the work is the head, which is quite regular. Evidently this is where the carver began his work, but before long he lost himself entirely. It looks as though the design had been correctly drawn, but the lines had got erased, the workman perhaps being ignorant and careless. This also will account for the more simple portions in the smaller spaces between the limbs being correctly carved. Two of the strands are continuous through the lower limb, which also is fairly good, the left arm being the most confused. The diagram or index figure given in my plate will make this more clear than a page of description.

The arcs of both circles are occupied by plait-work within plain borders, as follows:
Outer Circles—(1) Right upper; plait-of-three, consisting of one band in three loops, beginning at the right and ending at the left. (2) Left upper; the same. (3) Left lower; plait-of-four consisting of a continuous band in four laps, regular. *Inner Circle*—(1) Right upper; plait-of-three, consisting of one band in three laps, beginning at the right and ending at the left. (2) Left upper; the same. (3) Right lower; plait-of-three, a continuous band in two laps interlaced with another in single lap. (4) Left lower; the space here being very narrow, is occupied by a plain twist.

Between the circles the sunk spaces are divided by double beads, and each half occupied by diagonal oval rings interlaced. The cross is well formed, each limb being eighteen inches long by twelve and a quarter expanding to thirteen inches, except the right arm, which is an inch less in length and width, and the lower limb, which is straight. But the circles, or rather the arcs of four different circles, are almost square in outline.

58.—Maughold. Plate xxi.—Cumming, 33.

This small piece is now in Malew churchyard, but should be sent to Maughold, to which it rightly belongs. Cumming states that the Italian who made his casts found it on a heap of stones near Maughold churchyard, and his figure identifies it beyond question. Some time after he had left King William's College, the Vicar of Malew, Rev. H. S. Gill, now Archdeacon and Rector of Andreas, demanded back a stone which had been taken from that churchyard, and this one was sent along with it.

It has been a wheel-cross, and now measures twenty-two inches by thirteen inches, and about two inches thick. Originally it must have been at least thirty-nine inches long, and about seventeen inches across the arms; the shaft expands from seven and a half inches to ten and a half at a point eleven inches below the centre, thence more slightly to twelve and a half at the foot.



PLATE XXI.



(58) Maughold.



GEOMETRICAL.
(59A, B) Conchan, Scale $\frac{1}{2}$ (nearly).

One face is carved with a Celtic cross and connecting circle; the limbs are practically square ended. In the centre is an incised ring about four inches in diameter. The spaces at the junction of the limbs were occupied by flat bosses, of which one remains, and an incised line forms a border to the cross, the shaft of which is decorated with a double twist and ring design, not met with elsewhere in this precise form. Two parallel bands cross at regular intervals two other parallel bands, interlacing with each other, and with a diamond-shaped ring at the points of crossing. This may have been suggested by Anglian work, and I have attempted before (see page 26) to trace its possible evolution. It becomes a favourite and characteristic design in our later Scandinavian pieces. The whole pattern is close and compact, and is worked out with a square punch. The top of a second ring appears where the stone is broken off; it is not likely that there would have been another. Cumming's figure is bad.

The cross and circle are three-eighths of an inch in relief, the plait-work and border of the shaft from three-sixteenths to a quarter of an inch.

59.—Conchan. Plate xxi.—Kinnebrook, 18. Cumming, 25a, b.

We meet with this peculiar plait, or twist-and-ring pattern, on the shaft of the large rectangular slab in Conchan churchyard, north of the tower, where it was seen by Kinnebrook in 1841. It measures fifty-nine inches long, but on each face about four inches have been chipped off in order to fit it into its socket. The width is twenty-seven inches, and thickness from six to six and a half inches. Each face shows a shafted cross and circle, much weathered and worn, but so deeply cut as to be very distinct.

A. This is the face figured by Kinnebrook. The limbs of the cross expand, the lower one being then continuous in an almost straight shaft. A broad, flat circle is laid upon, and crosses over, the limbs. The cross is bordered by a plain bead, but not the circle.

The shaft has a design similar to that of the last, with the addition of three small, flat bosses, which occupy the central and side spaces left by the bands. The head is ornamented by a continuous fillet passing across the limbs and under the circle, which it then overlaps in double heart-shaped loops. The spaces at either side of the cross, and between the fillet laps and the circle, are sunk from one to one and three-fifths of an inch, and the plait work is from a quarter to half an inch in relief; otherwise the lines are but deeply incised, being about a quarter of an inch wide and deep.

B. This face is very badly and incorrectly figured by Cumming. It bears a cross of similar form to the other, with the limbs still more expanding. An incised ring gives the appearance of a central boss, four and a half inches in diameter, and between the limbs are four flat bosses; these are outside the circle, which, like that on the other face, crosses over the limbs. Both circle and cross are bordered, the limbs by a double bead.

The shaft bears a figure-of-eight plait, formed by a continuous broad band bordered by incised lines, the design being completed by a short band diagonally across the lower part. The carving is in the same relief as that of the other face.

ZOOMORPHIC DECORATION

60.—Maughold. Plate xxii.—A fragment from the old Keeil at Cardle, in Maughold, was brought to me in 1894 by the Rev. S. N. Harrison. It is of the local clay-slate, measuring nine to ten inches by twelve inches broad, and an inch and a half thick.

One face shows the lower part of a shaft of a cross; between two plain, flat borders is a rather involved but nicely balanced piece of dragon-headed interlacing, the spaces between the plait and the borders occupied by double C-shaped spirals or volutes carved about a quarter of an inch in relief.

61.—Conchan. Plate xxii.—In Conchan churchyard is a broken piece of a small wheel-cross, measuring twenty-six inches by fourteen inches and an inch and a half thick. Originally the head must have been about nineteen and a half inches across, some three inches having been broken off the top, and the fust about thirteen inches tapering to eleven inches.

One face is carved, showing an equal-limbed cross with two circles, as on the stones in the adjoining parish of Lonan. The cross is covered with continuous irregular interlacing. The outer circle has in each circle a plait-of-four; the inner one, connecting and completing the cup-like hollows between the limbs, is occupied by a twist. The bands have been ornamented with finely-incised border lines. Below the circle is a sunk panel, about ten inches wide by six inches, bordered at either side by a plain double-bead moulding, containing in relief the figures of two monstrous, dog-like animals, the larger one apparently two-headed. Above the latter is the interlaced diagonal ring design, not quite regularly drawn; below are three pellets in a triangle.

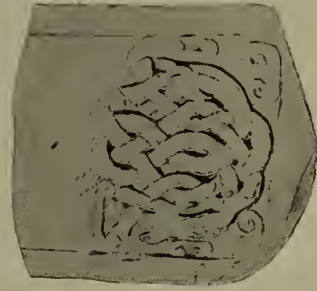
The carving is about an eighth of an inch in relief; between the circles a quarter of an inch, and the recesses between the limbs half an inch.

62.—Conchan. Plate xxiii.—Kinnebrook, 17. Cumming, 17.

Kinnebrook, who found this lying on the ground at the north side of the church at Conchan, says:—"It was one of the lintels in the old church." His figure is not good, but shows that the stone is little more broken now than when he saw it over sixty years ago. Cumming's figure is an attempted restoration, and is very bad.

The stone is rounded at the top, and measures fifty-three inches by nineteen and three and a half inches thick. It is broken at the bottom, and may have been from six to twelve inches longer. One face is carved with a Celtic cross, the limbs losing themselves in the surrounding circle; though now badly worn, it is evident that the plait was continuous. Both cross and circle are bordered by a plain bead, which at the foot of the shaft turns outwards to form a volute of three revolutions. From this volute springs another parallel bead running up the shaft and forming at the angle of junction with the circle a smaller volute; thence, passing a short distance along the circle, it forms a large double volute, also with three revolutions. A third bead passes outside the smaller volute, down the shaft, and round the volute at the foot, to merge in a band of scroll-work consisting of six double spirals bordered below by a bead moulding, with which each is connected by a short curved band.

The spaces at the sides of the shaft are occupied by dog-headed monsters seated on their haunches with open jaws, from which protrude their long tongues looping round their fore-paws which are raised to their chins with long fingers outstretched. Their bodies are broken up into spirals, their hind limbs unfinished. These figures give our first instance of the small spiral at the junction of the limbs, which becomes a marked feature in our later Scandinavian pieces. Below the band of scroll ornament is a design in form of a Fylfot



61A

60

61

ZOOMORPHIC.

(61A) Index to Plait; (60) Fragment from Keel on Cardle, Maughold, Scale between $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$; (61) Conchan, Scale about $\frac{1}{3}$.

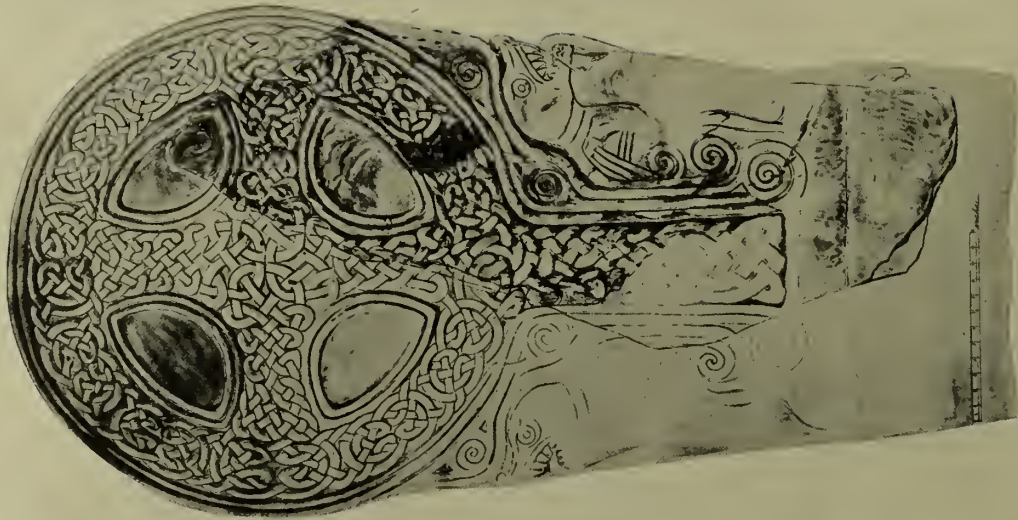
PLATE XXIII.



62A



62
ZOOMORPHIC.



63

(62, 62A) Conchan, restored, with Index to Plait; (63) Fragment from Conchan, restored.

or Gammadion, composed of four bands crossing diagonally, and having left to right spiral terminations.

Though much worn, and in places weathered entirely away, I have been able to trace a good portion of the interlacement, and by very careful and long-continued effort I have succeeded, as shown in my index figure, in connecting all the different strands of the plait in such a way as to account for all the bands, thus restoring the probable appearance as originally carved. It will be seen that the greater part of the shaft and the whole of the circle and limbs are occupied by three continuous bands. The longest, which in my index figure I distinguish by a median line, commencing at the left lower corner of the shaft, passes up the shaft, round the lower left quarter of the circle, across the arms, down the right lower quarter, up the lower limb and through the left arm for the second time, up and around three-quarters of the circle to the shaft, then down to the lower right-hand corner, and again up to the second panel and thence back to the point of starting. The second band, which I have marked with a dotted line, may be traced from a point below the circle, up the lower limb, through the left arm, up the left upper quarter of the circle, down the upper limb, through the right arm, and thence completely round the circle and back to the starting point. So may the third band, which I have left blank, be traced from a point below the second panel, through every limb and quarter of the circle twice or three times, and finally round the whole circle and down the shaft to the starting point.

At three places in the shaft the plait is broken horizontally, three bands being turned back so as to leave a small space, thus relieving the monotony of the continuous plait by dividing it into four panels. The two middle ones are connected by a diamond-shaped ring, which in my figure I have dotted; the lower one is interlaced with three plain rectangular rings. The carving is a sixteenth of an inch in relief in its present worn state, the shaft an eighth of an inch, and the recesses between the limbs are sunk a quarter of an inch.

63.—Conchan. Plate xxiii.—Kinnebrook, 20. Cumming, 18.

This fragment of a large and handsome cross may have been carved by the same sculptor as the last. Kinnebrook saw it in Mr. Quane's garden in the village of Conchan. About 1895, the proprietor, Mr. Callow, returned it to the parish churchyard, whence, no doubt, it had been removed.

It now measures fifty inches by about eighteen, and an inch and a half thick. It was evidently round-headed, and must originally have been sixty-six inches or more in height, the head thirty-two inches across, tapering to about twenty-two inches at the foot. Like the last, it was sculptured on one face only, having a Celtic cross with the limbs losing themselves in the surrounding circle. The circle was bordered by a double bead; on approaching the shaft the inner one escapes under the outer, and continues as a middle bead down the shaft; a third bead passes round three volutes, two below the circle thrown off from the second bead, and one at the foot of the shaft from the first.

There remains at the right of the shaft a much-worn dog-headed monster, which, no doubt, was balanced by another at the other side. These were seated as on the last, and Cumming represents the fore-paw resting on the knee, but I can discover no trace of this. The spirals appear to have been at the monster's back instead of in front. The head of the remaining one, and the volute above it, are now broken off. Fortunately I had taken

my rubbing and a photograph also before this happened, but I was too late to get the perfect head in my cast.

Cumming has mistaken the interlacing; he is quite wrong as to the shaft and arm, and has taken that of the circle to be a plain figure-of-eight plait. It is, however, a form of loop-plait (see page 26, fig. 17), one end of the "eight" turning back and folding upon itself in a horse-shoe shape, being surrounded by the open loop of the next. The right arm has a close plait showing another loop-form connected irregularly with that of the circle, while the shaft was evidently occupied by a much looser and more open plait.

In order to give an idea of the beauty and richness of this piece in its original state, I have in my figure (Plate xxiii.) attempted a restoration, being particular, however, to distinguish what actually remains on the stone from my own addition. The cross is carved a quarter of an inch in relief, the plait-work one-eighth of an inch.

FIGURE SUBJECTS

64.—Michael. Plate xxiv.—In our next we have interlaced designs and zoomorphism connecting it especially with the last two, and in addition we have realistic figure subjects. It is now in the temporary museum at Castle Rushen, where it was sent by Bishop Straton in 1893, having been discovered at the time of a fire at Bishop's Court, in the parish of Michael, which revealed it built as a lintel to the door leading from the hall to the dining-room. It may have been placed there by Bishop Murray (1814-1827), who made some additions to Bishop's Court.

The stone, roughly rectangular, now broken down the middle, measures seventy-five inches by twenty-three, and five and a half inches thick. One edge has been partially chipped in order to make it fit into its place in the wall. It is sculptured on both faces and edges, but the carving is sadly defaced, partly from the great heat of the fire, partly from the pressure of the wall.

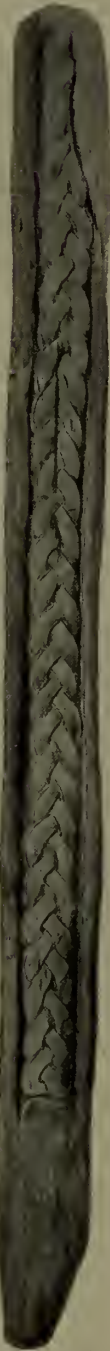
A. The best preserved face shows remains of a Celtic cross, shafted, the limbs surrounded by a circle. The cross measures forty inches long; the circle, which is five inches wide, is twenty-one inches in outer diameter. The cross has had a plain bead border; the circle, except for the recesses between it and the limbs, is not bordered; the shaft terminated in large double volutes of two revolutions, but only that on the right side now remains. The right arm shows traces of a simple plait; the circle has a variety of loop-twist of two bands, each having a single-pointed spiral-twist at the alternate points of junction, all right-handed and facing upwards.

The space to the right of the shaft is occupied by a monstrous figure, in attitude resembling those on the Conchan stones, the elbow resting on the knee, the fingers outstretched below the chin. Above this is a spiral design, and there appears to have been a spiral or key-pattern at the back also. Below the volute at the foot of the shaft is the figure of a hound. The rest of this face is flaked away, leaving only the sunk spaces between the limbs and the surrounding circle.

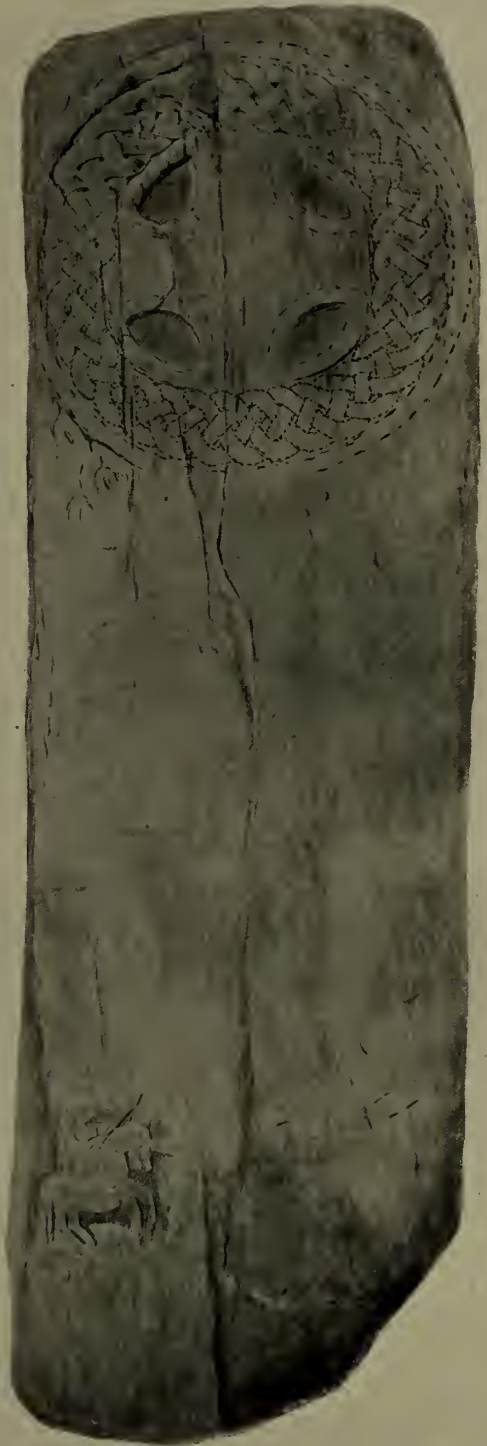
B. The other face has suffered still more. It has evidently borne a cross and circle of like character, the circle being ornamented with a plait-of-four between plain bead borders. The limbs and shaft are flaked away. Below, to the left of the shaft, is the figure of a



64A



64C



64B

FIGURE SUBJECTS.

(64A, C, B) Cross-slab from Bishopscourt, Michael.

man on horseback, armed with a spear. The edge (C) has a plait-of-three with downward overlaps; the chipped edge (D) shows at the bottom that it had been bordered by deeply-incised lines, and it probably had a key-fret or some such design higher up.

The carving of both faces and edges stands out from a sixteenth to a quarter of an inch in relief, the recesses being sunk three-quarters of an inch.

65.—Maughold. Plate xxv.—Cumming, *Arch. Camb.*, 1866. *Manx Soc.*, vol. xv., page 17.

This was formerly a lintel over the East window of Maughold Parish Church, where one face was exposed during repairs made about forty years ago, when a rubbing was taken by the Rev. S. N. Harrison, from which Cumming made his figure. Upon its removal in October, 1900, it was found to be broken across the middle, and very much shattered. What remains measures eighty-one inches by twelve to sixteen, and from three to five inches thick (at one point near the bottom six inches). A portion has been broken off the top, probably twenty-four inches or so.

A. This is the face represented by Cumming. I can see no trace of the small figure like a hound which he shows below the panel; above, however, we have the peculiar-looking beast which he supposes to be a hare, "caught by a lasso," "as it is in the act of issuing from a hole in the rock, after the manner of the mountain hares in the Isle of Man!" The animal, however, is unmistakable, having distinct antlers, though represented in a curious, conventional manner with short tines pointing forwards and backwards, and at the back an ear. It is certainly intended for a stag, and behind it are the four feet and snout of another beast, which must be intended for a hound, and the legs, possibly of a man. Above is the figure of a man with arms a-kimbo, hands on hips, on his breast a book, on the cover of which a small cross of Celtic form is quite distinct. By his side is a pastoral staff, showing that it is intended to represent a bishop, to whom, probably, the monument was erected. Above has been some scroll-work, possibly running into a plait, which may have decorated the shaft of a cross.

B. The other face has had a rectangular panel below, the right edge now broken off. It is occupied by a very rudely-drawn key-pattern with spiral terminations above, and large pellets; though weak in execution, the design is a good one (see *ante*, page 33, fig. 21, 1). The next panel contains a loop-twist of the form seen around the head of the Bishop's Court cross, Michael 64. This probably formed the shaft of a cross of the usual Celtic form. The edges were undecorated. The carving on the first face is from a quarter of an inch to half an inch in relief; on face B it is from an eighth to a quarter of an inch.

66.—Maughold. Plate xxv.—This is a great advance upon the last, both in execution and design, and may be taken as a typical example of Celtic work. The geometrical patterns are well drawn, the animal figures fairly correct and spirited, and the figure of the ecclesiastic very good.

For many years the stone served as a lintel to the west door of Maughold church, and in 1871 my father had one face cleaned of an accumulation of plaster, and so exposed to view. Happily, during the extensive repairs of 1900, I was able to persuade the present vicar to have the stone taken down, and it is now set up with others at the south-west corner of the churchyard. It measures sixty-four by ten inches, and from four and a quarter to five inches thick. It is broken down its length, from three to five inches in width having been chipped off by the builder.

A. The face previously in part exposed shows a Celtic cross, twenty-nine and three-quarter inches in length by seven and a half across the arms. Cross and circle are bordered with a plain bead moulding; the shaft terminates below in a volute of three revolutions. The whole cross is decorated with a continuous plait-of-four. At the left side of the shaft stands the well-drawn figure of a priest in his robes. Below the cross are stags and hounds, and a huntsman on horseback.

B. The other face has a cross of similar form, but with longer shaft, and the circle surrounding the limbs. It measures forty-one inches long, and the circle must have had a diameter of fifteen inches. The shaft is decorated with a fine loop-twist formed of a double bead—the spirals in the opposite direction to those on the last piece. This is continued on a reduced scale round the circle by a single bead. The circle is not bordered except round the recesses, but the shaft has a double bead, the inner one terminating at the foot in a volute of three revolutions, surrounded by the outer one. The junction with the head is gracefully decorated with an S-shaped spiral, below which the inner bead of the border extends to terminate in a single volute immediately above and outside of another formed by the outer bead. The space within the circle forms an equal-limbed cross, bordered by a plain bead and decorated with a plait-of-four, double-beaded. Below the shaft there remains the hind quarters and tips of the antlers of a stag attacked by a hound, and at the remaining side a great boar attacked by three hounds. The stags have fan-shaped antlers, and all the animals are marked by a peculiar pointed lower jaw.

C. One edge bears a plain plait-of-three, the other has been broken off by the builder. A curious thing about this slab is, that though rectangular in shape, the head has been carefully cut round (by a small chisel or punch) on both faces, leaving, however, a corner, or "lug," three-quarters of an inch thick, pierced by a hole half an inch in diameter. This, no doubt, was balanced by a similar one on the other side. I have seen nothing at all like this elsewhere; it must have required some time and careful work to form them, but as to their purpose I can only suppose that they were designed to place a rod through in order to support the stone, which possibly was set up within the church. There is also a dowel hole in the centre of the top, two inches diameter by an inch deep. The recesses between the limbs are sunk three-quarters of an inch, and the carving is a quarter of an inch in relief.

67.—Maughold. Plate xxvi.—Cumming, *Arch. Camb.*, 1866, p. 463, and plate. *Manx Soc.*, vol. xv., p. 16; vol. v., p. 206.

A rectangular slab in Maughold churchyard had been brought to light before 1860, when it was seen by Dr. Oswald. It measures fifty-six inches by twenty inches, and from two to two and a half inches thick. The first notice of it appeared in Oswald's *Vestigia*, *Manx Society*, vol. v. At page 216 the Editor remarks that during "recent repairs to Kirk Maughold church, the workmen came upon several interesting relics of the past," and he quotes from the *Manx Sun* newspaper a description of these by my father, then Chaplain of Ramsey, by which it appears that the one in question was discovered on removing some stone steps; this was at the north door of the church. It was described and figured by Cumming in his paper to the Cambrian Association already referred to.

One face is sculptured, having a shafted Celtic cross the whole length of the slab; the arms also stretch across the full width of the stone, twenty inches; the square-ended limbs are



65B

65A

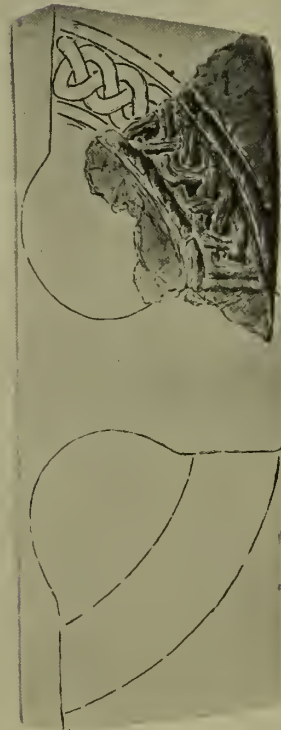
66B

66C

66A

FIGURE SUBJECTS.

(65B, A) Maughold, formerly over East Window, Scale $\frac{1}{8}$ (nearly); (66B, C, A) Maughold, formerly used as Door-lintel, Scale about $\frac{1}{10}$.



67

70

71

FIGURE SUBJECTS AND FRAGMENTS.

(67) Maughold; (68) Santon; (70, 71) Fragments from Maughold, Scale about $\frac{1}{4}$.

connected by a circle, which is a true one, four inches wide. Cumming's figure is fairly correct in outline, but bad in detail. The circle is bordered by plain, flat beads, the outer one, which is rather broader than the inner, running into a similar border which surrounds the slab itself; but there is no trace of the interlacing shown by Cumming, nor can I find either plaitwork or border on the cross itself, and though it is worn it is scarcely possible that there could be no indication if it ever had been there.

Facing the shaft at either side is the figure of a seated monk, with cowl or hood, having one arm outstretched towards the cross; the chairs appear to have had short, straight backs, and that on the right a curved arm like that on the cross-slab at Dunfallandy,¹ Perthshire, on which are two seated ecclesiastics at either side of a small Celtic cross. Below, on each side, is a rider on horseback also facing the shaft. The riders are not cloaked or armed; that on the left has his foot between the forelegs of his horse, as on some early Scottish slabs, as at Inchbrayoc (Forfarshire), Scoonie (Fifeshire), and Migvie (Aberdeenshire); one wears a cocked hat; the other, peaked in front, may be partly worn away. Below, on the left, is a boar, with feet to the shaft, but the drawing of this and of the other figures is much more spirited than represented by Cumming. A corresponding figure on the other side is now too worn to decipher.

The cross is of the Kells type, and the whole appearance of the stone suggests Scottish influence. The sculpturing, in its worn state, stands out a sixteenth of an inch only, the sunk recesses at the intersection of the limbs being half an inch. The shaft tapers very slightly—from five and three-quarters to five and a half inches, the effect being heightened by the relief, which diminishes from an eighth of an inch at the circle to a sixteenth at the bottom.

68.—**Santon.** Plate xxvi.—Oswald, *Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. ii., pt. 2, p. 503. Cumming, 32.

This fragment from Santon—which on the death of Mr. Carran, of Douglas, was presented to me—I sent recently to the parish church to be preserved there with two other stones from that district. It measures twenty and a half inches by ten and three-quarter to four and three-quarter inches, and is two and an eighth inches thick. The total width must have been about sixteen inches, and, to judge from Oswald's figure, it would have been forty-eight inches or more in length. It is a very hard and fine-grained greenish slate, and what remains of the carving is highly finished with the chisel, three-eighths of an inch in relief.

One face displays, within a circle formed by a fine bead-moulding, a cross patee, the ends of the limbs widely expanding so as to closely approach each other. Each limb is occupied by a triquetra, the centre marked by a small pellet. About two-thirds of the head remains, showing the upper and left limbs, and about half of the other two. Below may be seen a very small fragment of knotwork at the left-hand corner, and so far as it



FIG. 50.—THE SANTON CROSS-SLAB, AS FIGURED BY OSWALD.

¹ *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, fig. 305B.

goes this supports Oswald's figure from which Cumming's was in part taken. In his description, the latter says that the stone "was found by Mr. Oswald on a headland south of Port Soderic, near a small mound of ruins called the 'Old Chapel.'" Oswald had informed him that the lower portion, which was ornamented with knotwork and the figure of a man on horseback, had been stolen from him.

Besides my drawing in the plate of the stone as it now appears, I give on previous page a copy of Oswald's figure showing the lost panel. I doubt if the drawing was so feeble as he represents it.

SCRIPTURE SUBJECTS

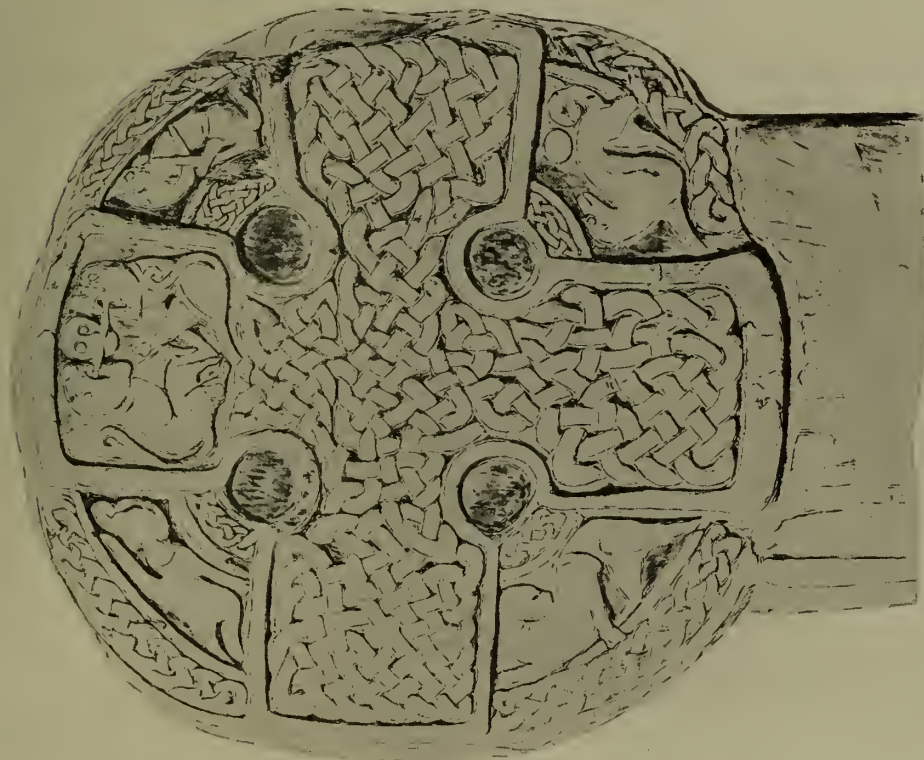
69.—Braddan. Plate xxvii.—Kinnebrook, 22. Cumming, 21.

We have seen in the Calf of Man slab, Rushen 50, a figure of the Crucifixion. The only other Scripture subject treated on these early pre-Scandinavian pieces is that of Daniel in the lion's den, which we find on a large wheel-cross set up against the north wall of Braddan old church, at the foot of the tower. In outline it resembles that of Groudle, Lonan 57, but shows superior workmanship in the interlacing, and has the addition of several animal figures. It stood in its present position in 1841 when seen by Kinnebrook.

The stone measures fifty-two inches by twenty-three inches across the fust, the head being thirty-eight inches in diameter, and is from four to five inches thick. One face is sculptured, having an equal-limbed cross with two circles connecting the limbs, like those at Lonan. The upper panel shows the figure of two lions on their haunches, each with a fore-paw raised to its chin. Between them is a man's head. The rest of the cross is completely covered with loose and intricate, but perfectly regular, plaitwork. The circles also are decorated with plaitwork, the spaces between them being occupied by four non-descript beasts. A drawing, kindly made for me from a cast by Sir Henry Dryden, shows the plait exactly as I have myself traced it, composed of four separate bands. The first, distinguished in my index figure by a median line, continued from the leg of the lion on the right, covers more than half the space, passing through the three limbs, and not a little involved. It terminates at the neck of the right arm in a dead-end against another band. The second, which I have marked with dots, is continuous, not so long as the first, but equally involved. A third forms a narrow ring crossing the upper part diagonally, and looping at the right end. The fourth makes a slightly larger diagonal ring lower down.

The circles are ornamented as follows: *Outer circle*—Left upper quarter: plait-of-four consisting of two continuous bands properly interlaced. Right upper: plait-of-three formed by two bands, one continuous, the other a single lap. Left lower: plait-of-four, one continuous band. Right lower: plait-of-three formed by a single band in three laps, ingeniously diversified by a break near the lower end. *Inner circle*—Left upper: plait-of-four, one continuous band, at the lower end an odd piece inserted for symmetry (Sir Henry Dryden took this to be "(?) two bands confused"). Right upper: plait-of-six consisting of a single band with two loose ends on the upper side. Left lower: plait-of-four, one continuous band. Right lower: a similar band, the overlapping at the end differently arranged.

The animals in the spaces between the limbs appear to be decorative only; it is difficult to say what they are meant to represent. That in the left upper space has a large head,



69



69A

FIGURE SUBJECTS.

(69) Braddan Wheel-Cross; (69A) Index to Plait.

rather dog-like, with a curious sort of bag at the neck. The limbs are sprawled as though the beast were dead. The right upper one lies on its side, its legs interlaced, a belt or band round the middle, a dog-like head with long ear, and a long tail ending in a spiral. The right lower one appears to be running, its dog-head with sharp pointed ear turned round; the tail is twisted into a knot, and at its back is a large pellet. The left lower one, also dog-headed, is crouching; it has no tail, but a band round the middle and a collar round its neck. Both cross and circles are bordered by plain beads, excepting the lower portion of the right lower quarter of the outer circle.

The upper panel is very interesting. Though, taken by itself, one would not recognise its signification, yet upon comparing the whole series of representations of Daniel in the den of lions on our early Christian monuments, one cannot doubt that this is to be classed as one of them. Daniel is here represented by his head only, there being no room for the body, as the artist wished to emphasize the power of the lions by their proportionately large size, the subject being a symbol of the Resurrection. He wears a long moustache, as was customary when the stone was carved, the clean-shaven face coming in with the Normans. The lions are well drawn; they have the long tails terminating in spirals, and bent over the back, as we find in the older methods of treatment—for example, at Meigle and Dunkeld in Perthshire.¹ They have collars also, to show that they are held in restraint, and their forepaws are raised to their chins, an original and artistic mode of implying that their mouths are closed in the presence of Daniel—that death has no terrors for the just and upright soul. I regret much that this detail has been missed by Mr. Romilly Allen,² who takes the closed lower jaw for the upper one open, the forepaws with toes outspread at the chin for the upper and lower teeth, the moustache of Daniel for the tongues of the lions, and the rest of the forelegs for parts of the lower jaws. Sir Henry Dryden followed this in his drawing. Still I feel quite certain that a close scrutiny of the stone itself will show that my representation is the correct one.

The carving of the interlaced work is from an eighth to a quarter of an inch in relief, the cross five-eighths of an inch, the recesses between the limbs sunk to three-quarters of an inch.

70.—Maughold. Plate xxvi.—During the repairs at Maughold church in 1900, Mr. Callow, the contractor for the work, brought me a small piece found by him close to the east window. It is of clay-slate, and measures only ten inches by six, and, one face being flaked off, is only an inch thick. Evidently it is the upper corner of a rectangular slab, and shows the right quarter of a circle connecting the limbs of the cross. Upon attempting a restoration it becomes evident that it was not a true circle, but must have consisted of arcs of four different circles. The total width of the stone was probably about twenty-two inches; the length may have been five feet or more.

The quarter of circle that remains contains a well-cut plait-of-three, composed of double-beaded bands, smoothly chiselled and well finished. It is, of course, impossible to say whether the cross bore figure subjects or other decoration. The carving is three-sixteenths of an inch in relief.

¹ *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, p. 297, pl. 311B, p. 318, pl. 332A.

Christian Symbolism, p. 374.

71.—Maughold. Plate xxvi.—Another fragment from Maughold was brought to me by the Vicar later on. It shows a portion of a band, having a slight curve, with a plait-of-four, double-beaded. The execution and general appearance are very similar to the last, and this may have been carved by the same hand. It is not a piece of the same stone; the pattern would not fit in with the other, and the material is different. It is flaked off another somewhat similar cross-slab, and measures seven and a half inches by three and three-quarter inches, and seven-eighths of an inch thick. Though they are such fragments, both of them appear to me to show late work, and I, therefore, place them at the end of our pre-Scandinavian pieces.

CLASS II.—SCANDINAVIAN

72.—Maughold. Plate xxviii.—Kinnebrook, 11. Cumming, 21, a, b, c, d.

Though there is nothing in the decorative art of this monument which can be regarded as peculiarly Scandinavian—and it bears no inscription—there is that in its treatment, and in the execution of the work, which makes it unlike that of a Celtic artist in the eleventh century, and the figure of the Madonna and the general appearance of the stone render it almost certain that it is not of earlier date. The angularity as well as the irregularity of the drawing suggests Scandinavian workmanship. The two birds here seen on the limbs of the cross are frequently met with as a design upon our Scandinavian, but never on the earlier pieces. The figure of a man with hands upraised and a pastoral staff by his side must be intended to represent a bishop or an abbot, and we know from the *Manx Chronicle* that Roolwer, Hrólfr, a Norwegian by his name, was a bishop in Man “before the days of Godred Crovan,” *i.e.*, before 1075 or 1079; also that he was buried “at the Church of Maughold.” I, therefore, think not only that this is a Scandinavian monument—the early work of a Norse artist following unfamiliar Celtic models—but that it was set up as a memorial to the first Scandinavian bishop in Man, about the year 1060. If this be so, it gives us a starting point for our Scandinavian monuments, for the work of Gaut, who says he made all the crosses in Man, must necessarily be earlier than this.

The List of Bishops “a tempore Godredi Crovan et aliquanto tempore ante,” which follows the Chronicle kept from about the middle of the thirteenth century by the monks at Rushen Abbey, begins as follows:—

“Primus exstitit antiquam Godredus Crouan regnare cæpisset Roolwer Episcopus qui jacet apud ecclesiam Sancti Machuti. . . .

“Post Roolwer exstitit Willelmus Episcopus.

“Post Willelmus in diebus Godredi Crouan Hamondus filius Jole Mannicus genere episcopalem suscepit Cathedram.”

Godred won the battle of Scacafell, and began to reign in 1079; he died in 1095. Hamond, therefore, may have been Bishop from about 1080. We do not know when William came, but cannot suppose Roolwer's death to have been earlier than 1060.

The earliest reference to the stone which I can find is that of Townley, who, under date March 24th, 1790, referring to his visit to Kirk Maughold, writes, evidently of this¹—“There is a very fine Danish cross (cut upon a remarkably large stone) resting upon the

¹ *A Journal kept in the Isle of Man* (by Richard Townley, Esq.), vol. ii., p. 173.



72D

72A

72C

72B

SCANDINAVIAN.

(72D, A, C, B) Maughold, Scale $\frac{1}{11}$ (nearly). Perhaps erected to the memory of Bishop Roolwer, who is recorded to have been buried at Maughold about 1060.

ground just before the church gates; near to it a very handsome upright cross." This latter must refer to the fourteenth or fifteenth century pillar-cross still standing there. About 1860 Dr. Hibbert Ware noticed it in use as a step for the sundial which then stood in the roadway just in front of the church gates, as still remembered by residents in the parish, and he records¹ the fact that he persuaded the vicar and wardens to set it up in the middle of the green, which was then formed on the site of an open pool of stagnant water. In December, 1894, when I had a cast of the stone taken for my collection, it was suffering not only from exposure to the weather, but from improper and unfair usage from children throwing stones at it, and boys making it a climbing post. I, therefore, placed it within the churchyard by the gable of the Baldromma house, south of the porch, to preserve it from further injury, till a more suitable and permanent arrangement could be made.

It bears no resemblance to the work of Gaut, and is unlike any other monument in the island; indeed, I do not know of one anywhere which could have served as a model for it, and believe that it was direct from the illuminated MSS. that the artist got his inspiration. The form of the cross itself on each face is exceptional, derived evidently from the type having semi-circular endings to the limbs, and suggests some of the ninth and tenth century recumbent slabs at Clonmacnois. We meet with it also at Glendalough.

The stone measures a hundred and nine inches long by twenty-three inches wide at the broadest part of face A, and eight inches thick. The other face is two inches less in width. There is no local quarry from which it could have come, and it may possibly have been brought by sea from Spanish Head.

A. On one face the cross, nearly six feet in length, occupies the whole decorated space. The proportions as well as the shape are unusual—the head twenty-nine and a quarter inches by eight and three-quarter inches, extending at the top to about twelve inches; left arm, eleven and a half inches by eight to eight and a half inches; right arm, eleven inches by nine to ten inches; shaft, forty-two inches by eight to eight and three quarter inches; the rectangular pedestal being eight inches by twelve and a half inches. The arms expand gradually, and the head by an outward curve to the end.

The cross is bordered by a plain bead, continued to form the connecting circle between the limbs, and terminating at the outer ends of the arms in small volutes, which are repeated by the adjoining decorative patterns. Two of the recesses between the limbs are occupied by our nearest approach to the Celtic triple divergent spiral of three comma-like figures radiating from a common centre; the lower right recess shows two oval rings overlapping in the middle, with pellets to fill in the spaces; the other has a design of two double C-shaped spirals back to back, contracted to fit into the recess. The spaces above the arms are occupied by angular and irregular key-patterns, and below by still more contorted forms of key-fret and infolded rings, broken up into panels.

In the centre of the cross is a ring of step pattern, now almost obliterated by exposure to the weather. At either side of this, and facing it, is a bird—that on the left distinctly meant for a cock, that on the right a hen, or some other bird placed for symmetry. This design of two birds² frequently occurs in the Isle of Man, generally above the limbs of the

¹ MS. in Manchester Free Library (12 vol.), pp. 126-142.

² "In Byzantine and Lombardic architectural ornament on the Continent, birds pecking at fruit or flowers, or standing on either side of a flower or vase, are subjects continually used as material in decorative Art."—*Christian Inscriptions*.

cross, but always on Scandinavian pieces; and it is curious that while one is clearly a cock, the other might be taken for a hen, or possibly a dove.

As a design this had no doubt its origin in pagan art—as, for example, in “Pliny’s Doves,” so called from the mosaic in the museum at Rome preserved by Pliny. The dove was early adopted as a Christian symbol of the soul, and we find it in the Catacombs of Rome in the first and second centuries. It is the soul in heavenly bliss, the sheep representing the soul pasturing still on earth. It is the Holy Ghost also, called in the Fathers “Columba sine felle”—Dove without gall.¹ On the Cæsar inscription the dove is drawn after the words “Euelpius vos satos Sancto Spiritu”;² and it appears in that connection on a first or second century fresco in the crypt of Lucine, where also an inscription has below it two doves pecking at a bunch of grapes, “doubtless to signify the joy of the soul which tastes the Fruit of Life.” Each dove wears a collar, and upon our crosses we sometimes find one or both birds so figured. Another early fresco in the crypt of Lucine, first or second century, shows two doves, one at each side of a felled tree.³ In the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries the dove is one of the symbols most frequently represented on Roman marbles and in the mosaics of Italian churches. On sepulchral marbles in Gaul the dove is seen figured down to the seventh century. With an olive branch, it is engraved on reliquaries of the eleventh century. The mosaic of the apsis of the basilica of St. Clement, which is thirteenth century, represents doves perched on the arms of the cross.⁴ As a symbol “it never entirely disappeared, and is found at all periods with the same sweet, simple, gracious signification.”⁵ In Ireland we see the dove over the head of Christ on the high cross to King Fland, Clonmacnois, A.D. 914.

There is another bird, rarely figured in the Catacombs, but appearing on early Christian mosaics, namely, the phœnix, as a symbol of the Resurrection, and “an emblem of the soul renewed, rejuvenated, and more beautiful than when in the body.”⁶ At a later date the cock also became a symbol of the Resurrection, and as the phœnix was in the first instance a pagan emblem, so this bird (though derived probably from Christian sources) had a conspicuous place in the later Viking mythology, in which the dawn of Ragnarök was to be heralded by the crowing of a gold-coloured cock, “Gold-comb.” The first Christian teachers would endeavour to persuade their recent converts to exchange the pagan associations of this and other heathen figures for those of the new religion, and so on our Scandinavian monuments the cock, with the figure of which they were familiar, would take the place of the phœnix.

The corresponding figure might be made to differ in form, partly from a desire to avoid repetition, or, possibly, in the first instance, the artist may have had in mind the symbolic dove and the cross, *i.e.*, the Tree of Life in place of the Vine. We may see, then, in these

¹ In one instance, Michael 101, the cock is balanced on the right by the figure of a winged Angel, here possibly intended to represent the Third person of the Trinity.

² *Rome Souterraine*, 12th Ed., p. 297; footnote, 298, 299.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

⁴ The cross itself is never figured in the Catacombs, but we find an instance of the Chi-Rho monogram set between two doves.—*Ibid.*, p. 337.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

figures of birds at either side of the cross—on the one side a symbol of the Resurrection, on the other the soul redeemed tasting of the tree: the Fruit of Life!

In the early tombstone of "Donfrid," at Wensley, in Yorkshire, we find two large birds in the spaces between the arms and head of a cross;¹ at St. Vigean's, Forfarshire, and at Kilfinnan, Argyll, are two birds above the arms of a cross;² otherwise this design does not seem to occur on monuments of this class outside of the Isle of Man.

On the shaft of the cross is figured the Virgin and Child, a subject rarely met with in sculpture at this early date.³ Over the Virgin's head is the nimbus of peculiar form, such as we find it on two later crosses at Michael 100, 101; though badly worn, I can detect on this faint traces of the crosslets and fringed edges. The treatment of the subject is original. The Mother appears to be standing, not seated, and is undraped; her hand clasps the Child round its back, holding it to her side, as women in the East do to this day.

In the earliest representations—as in the damaged fresco in the cemetery of St. Priscilla, assigned by Rossi to the time of the Apostles, with whom Priscilla, mother of Pudens, was a contemporary—the Holy Mother, in flowing garments and wearing a loose veil over her head, appears to be seated, holding the child on her knees.⁴ There is no nimbus. Besides this there are in the catacombs about twenty paintings of the Adoration of the Magi, which represent the Mother seated on a throne, holding the Infant on her knees, as in the Cemetery of Saints Peter and Marcellin, dating from the third century.⁵ This is the conventional treatment handed down in Western art from those early ages to the present time. In the Cemetery of St. Agnes another beautiful fresco shows the Holy Child placed in front of the Mother, whose arms are extended in prayer. This, which dates from the first half of the fourth century, is the type most popular in Russia.

On the upper limb of the cross is a figure, also undraped, with hands upraised in the attitude of prayer or blessing. The pastoral staff at his side (see *ante*, p. 40) indicates a bishop; and this, I suggest, is intended for an effigy of Roolwer, the Scandinavian bishop who is recorded as having been buried "at the Church of Saint Maughold." Above, on the same upper limb, has been a device of two spirals back to back, now badly worn; and across the expanded portion of the limb a band about two inches wide, apparently with diagonal scores, but too worn to determine positively.

B. The other face is divided into two rectangular panels. The upper one is surrounded by a cable border, and occupied by a cross of very similar form to the last, but more nearly approaching the Clonmacnois type of semi-circular endings to the limbs. It is not bordered, and the ring connecting the limbs is a true circle, not composed of four quadrants of different circles. The dimensions of the cross are as follows:—Head, sixteen and a half inches by two and a half to two and three-quarter inches, expanding at the top to five and a half inches; shaft, eighteen and three-quarter inches by two and three-quarter to three inches; at a point four inches from the end it expands to form a truncated pedestal four and three-quarter inches wide. The arms are seven inches by two and a quarter to

¹ *Journal British Archaeological Association*, vol. vii., 75; *Christian Symbolism*, p. 123.

² *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, p. 270, fig. 281; p. 391, fig. 409.

³ One of the oldest surviving is on a Norman font at Walton-on-the-Hill, near Liverpool, figured in *Christian Symbolism*, 102, 103.

⁴ See illustration in *Rome Souterraine*, pl. iv., 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. iv., 2.

three inches, expanding to four and a quarter inches. These expansions are all lightened by central hollow recesses.

Above the arms the space to the left of the cross has had a key-pattern traced but not carved upon it. It is evident that this is not simply defaced by wear, as it still stands out in prominent relief, showing that it never was finished. The corresponding face on the right is occupied by a well-executed step-pattern, formed of a double bead, between which and the cross is a narrow plain twist. Below, we have on the left a plait-of-three consisting of a short band interlaced through a continuous twist, double-beaded; to the right some angular, almost square, looped interlacing, which, though much worn, can be seen to have exhibited great irregularity.

The lower panel, the rectangular shape of which has its stiffness broken by a step at the top with corresponding infold below, is divided up the centre by a band terminating in a spiral design, partly angular and partly curved to fit into the required space. On the left of this are two well-drawn stags, their spreading antlers now almost worn away, and a hind followed by a hound; the space at their backs is filled in with irregular scrollwork, and between the stags a triquetra. On the right is a man on horse-back, below which is an irregular plait-of-four alongside an angular key-fret. The flat pellets or bosses at the foot of the central dividing line are curious.

The space between the two panels is occupied by angular key-pattern, and on the left two double spirals, the upper one C-shaped, the lower one S-shaped. Half-a-dozen scores outside the lower panel on the left show that it was designed to have had a cable border all round the stone, but this also remains unfinished.

C. The edges of the slab are unusually broad; one bears a unique design of curved lines, with bulbous ends, suggesting a twist, incised and emphasized by dots or small cups. Below is a square, four-fold ring, and below, a plait-of-three formed by one continuous band, the overlapping being irregular.

D. The other edge has the pattern contained within a plain, flat border. Above is a beautiful example of the angular key-fret, then two diagonal rings interlaced; below, two double spirals back to back, the lower one separated by three pellets from a single spiral; below, a rectangular key design; below, two interlaced diagonal rings; and at the bottom a double-beaded plait-of-three, which, like that on face **B**, consists of a band interlaced through a continuous twist. It is bordered by pellets at the points of crossing, which are very irregular, reminding one of a cross at Beckermeth, Cumberland, compared with this by Canon Knowles and Mr. Collingwood, and of one at St. Bees.¹ The carving throughout is from an eighth to three-eighths of an inch in relief, and between the limbs and the circle of the cross on face **B** three-quarters of an inch.²

73.—Andreas. Plate xxix.—Kinnebrook, 8. Cumming, 10a, b. Inscription—Munch, *Manx Soc.*, vol. xxii, p. 28, 6. Kneale, No. 16. Vigfusson, 4.

This was for many years set up on the green in front of Kirk Andreas Church, about four miles north of Ramsey. Where it came from, or when placed on the green, I have

¹ *Crosses, etc., Carlisle*, pp. 34 and 260.

² On the top of this stone are three carefully chiselled cup-hollows nearly equi-distant, and about two and a half inches in diameter by one and a half inches deep. I can only suppose that these were meant for dowels, and that the cross had at one time a cap-stone. If so, it is the only instance of this in the Isle of Man.



73B

73C

73A

73CC

GEOMETRICAL.

(73B, C, A) Gaut's Cross, Andreas ; (CC) the Edge, on a larger scale (*from Photograph of the Stone*).

not been able to learn. It was there when etched by Kinnebrook, 1841. At fairs and funerals and christenings, cattle rubbed against it and horses were tethered to it; until recent years the billposter found it a convenient station; and for a long time children passing on their way to the village school made it a target for stones and other missiles. What with weather and ill-usage, it had become sadly defaced when at last I persuaded Archdeacon Moore to have it placed within the church. In November, 1886, it was laid along with the other Andreas crosses in the south porch, and now, twenty years later, the Manx Museum and Ancient Monuments Trustees have obtained the means to have these and all others throughout the Island more suitably treated by placing them under cover in such a position that they can be readily examined.

It is a rectangular slab of a tough blue clay-slate, possibly quarried from the hills about five miles to the south-west between Sulby and Ballaugh. It measures ninety-seven inches long by seventeen to eighteen inches wide, and five inches thick.

A. This face is occupied by a shafted cross of Celtic type, the limbs connected by a circle. Cross and circle are bordered by plain beads. It appears from the lower part, which has been preserved by being buried in the ground, that the shaft bore a plain plait-of-five—not of six as figured by Cumming. The odd band coming from the left side ends at the bottom in the middle. The design on the head is much worn, but appears to have been similar to that on the unscribed face of Michael 74, which was by the same maker. Two bands continued from the plait-work on the shaft interlaced in a central ring, with two other bands crossing at right angles to the first; of this, however, no trace now remains on either face. These bands carried up to the head, there split to form two diagonal oval rings, which interlace with a square or diamond-shaped one. We see the remains of this design on the left, with two pellets to fill in spaces between the plaits. At the extremity of the left arm are also traces sufficient to indicate that, as on the Michael stone, the two bands looped backwards in a V-shaped tongue to buckle with an interlacing ring. This treatment of the head, evolved by Gaut, is peculiar to the Scandinavian pieces in the Isle of Man, and very generally followed.¹ The space to the right of the shaft was occupied by a plain key-fret; that to the left by a twist-and-ring design.

The measurements of the cross are as follows:—Head, thirteen inches by eight and a half inches (probably); shaft, fifty-four inches with the same width as the head, expanding to ten inches at the foot; arms, eight and a half inches by about eight inches. The circle, two and a half inches wide, is seventeen to eighteen inches in outer diameter, being about an inch longer than it is broad. The carving is from an eighth to three-eighths of an inch in relief.

B. This face has not hitherto been figured. It bears a cross and circle similar in form to the last, and bordered in the same manner. The shaft bore a plait-of-five, the odd band terminating at the foot on the right side. The head is more worn, even, than that of the other face, but appears to have had a similar design. The space to the left of the shaft was occupied by a plain twist, that to the right by a form of twist with the bands linked; at each point of crossing an offshoot is thrown out from the inner side of the right-hand

¹ See p. 42, and fig. 26 (p. 41).

band which, passing upwards to the left, and under and over again, joins on to the other band. At the lowest point of crossing the design is varied by the offshoot being thrown from the outside upwards and over, so as to take the form of a free tendril (see pp. 42 and 43, figs. 27 and 28). The measurements of the cross are as on the other face, save that there is a slight difference in the proportionate length of the head and of the shaft, which are respectively fourteen inches and fifty-one inches long. The carving is an eighth of an inch in relief, as now worn; the cross a quarter of an inch; and the hollows between the limbs and the circle half an inch.

One edge was left plain; the other (C) has borne an inscription, of which the first part, containing the name of the person who set up the monument, has weathered and crumbled away. The unevenness and irregularity of the runes, which are about an inch and a quarter to an inch and a half long, the lines being about a sixteenth of an inch wide and deep, show that the edge was rough and undressed when they were cut. What now remains reads:—

. . . þANA : IF[T]UFAIK : FAUþUR : SIN : IN : KAUTR : KARþI : SUNR :
BIARNAR : FRA : KULI

[A.B. ERECTED] THIS [CROSS] TO THE MEMORY OF OFEIG, HIS FATHER, BUT GAUT
BJÖRNSON, OF COOLEY, MADE IT.

The first two words are broken along the middle, but the upper part of the bow of the þ, and the character strokes of the other runes, can be traced; the others, except the T, are clear. I read the second word AF, but the character-stroke of the first rune is not clear, and it may have been I. Professor Stephens, to whom many years ago I sent a photograph of the stone, suggested AT as the reading of the second word, a shortened form of AFT, or AFTIR, frequently met with, declaring AF or IF to be unheard of. I can, however, distinctly make out the two strokes of the F, followed by a mark which at first I took to be the dot of a punctuation sign. Dr. Vigfusson¹ read AFTIR, which it certainly is not. As AF has never been met with either in Old Northern or in the Scandinavian runes as a contraction for AFTIR, and as there is sufficient space for a rune in the absence of a punctuation mark which sometimes is omitted, I cannot doubt that IFT, as now read by Dr. Brate, is correct, and that what I had taken to be a word-division is a trace of the T. Munch and Worsaae (from the casts in Edinburgh), and Cumming and Kneale, give AF.

The name UFAIK occurs in *Landnámabók*, and is rendered *Unfey* by Vigfusson, who here reads UFAAC, but there is no stroke to the fourth letter. It might be derived from the Irish O'Fiac, but that would scarcely account for its frequency in Swedish runic inscriptions of the eleventh century, where no fewer than twenty-four instances are met with. The spelling FAUþUR occurs elsewhere, as at Glimminge. The second letter of the word KARþI, which has been read KIRþI—except by Cumming, who gives the impossible word GUTTHI—has a flake or hollow mark, but one can trace the cut showing it to have

¹ In the *Catalogue of Manx Crosses* (second edition, published in 1892) I gave, besides my own readings of the Inscriptions, those of previous workers. It does not seem necessary to repeat them here, but in the letterpress I call attention to all material points of difference from those I now submit. To save undue repetition, I may say that unless otherwise stated, I here quote Munch from the *Manx Society*, vol. xxii., p. 28 (Author's Preface to the *Manx Chronicle*); Cumming, from *Runic Remains*; Kneale, from his *Guide to the Isle of Man*; and Vigfusson from the *Manx Note Book*, January, 1887.

been A, though the same artist spells this word with an I in his inscription, Michael 74. There is no excuse for Vigfusson's reading of SAUNR for SUNR, which is quite clear. In the word next to the last the lower part of the stem of A is broken, and the *Kännestreck*, "character-stroke," or bar, is rather high up. It is certainly not KUB, as read by Munch and Cumming, nor FRO; and Vigfusson read it rightly as FRA.

The great interest of this inscription lies in the fact that it gives us the name and residence of the sculptor Gaut, son of Björn, of Cooley, which may well be the farm in Michael still bearing that name.

74.—**Michael.** Plate xxx.—Kinnebrook, 3. Cumming, 1, a, b, c.

This stone has been set in the wall at the south side of the church gates at Kirk Michael since its removal from the old Church about 1827, according to Cumming. It is a rectangular slab of clay-slate, seventy-two inches long by sixteen wide, and from three to three and a half inches thick.

A. This face bears a Celtic cross with circle like the last, bordered by a plain bead moulding. The shaft is occupied by a plait-of-five—wrongly figured by Cumming as of six—the odd band at the bottom merging into the pair on the right. Two bands are carried up to the head to be crossed and interlaced with two others in the centre, but without the ring shown by Cumming. The space to the left of the shaft bears the twist-and-ring design, the appearance of which is varied by the surface between the rings not having been cut away, thus leaving flat, almond-shaped pellets. The space to the right has a link form of twist, the link being thrown from the outer side of the band at each point of crossing, and passing downwards and over and under to unite with the other band. This was mistaken by Cumming for a twist-and-ring design. All the bands are plain except where they interlace at the centre of the head, where they are double-beaded, and further variety is given by merging the two parallel bands into one at a point immediately beyond the interlacing.

Above the circle, on the right, is the design of two interlaced diagonal rings, very angular in form, which was balanced, no doubt, by a similar one on the left. The proportions of the cross are as follows:—Head, thirteen inches by seven and a quarter inches; shaft, thirty-five inches by six and a quarter inches, expanding to seven and a quarter inches at the foot; arms, about eight inches, at least half an inch having been broken off each end, by six and three-quarter inches. The circle, two inches wide, is sixteen inches in outer diameter, and intended to be a true one, but is a quarter of an inch longer than it is broad. The carving is one-eighth of an inch in relief, the circle a quarter of an inch, cross half an inch, and the hollow recesses between the limbs five-eighths of an inch.

B. The other face displays a similar cross and circle. The shaft has a good example of the curious ring-chain pattern introduced by Gaut, and so favoured by his successors as to become a characteristic of the Manx Scandinavian crosses. I have already, in the section dealing with the Art of these monuments (p. 44 and p. 45, fig. 29), described this design, and explained its evolution from a conventional representation of the interlacing foliage of the sacred Ash, Yggdrasil, Odin's steed; and it is, perhaps, not accidental that we find it applied invariably to the decoration of the cross itself, which in old English poetry is styled "Christ's palffy." As met with in the Isle of Man, the design is composed

of three interlaced chains of rings, the lower portion of each ring expanding into a broad tongue to buckle under the one next below. It may be formed from a plait-of-four. The space to the left of the shaft has a plait-of-four, and, as in the case of the twist-and-ring on the other face, the spaces between the bands have not been cut away, thus leaving a rectangular pellet, and giving the appearance of a splitting of the bands. We notice, as a detail in the workmanship, that the lower third of the pattern is narrower in order to avoid a flake and fit into the imperfectly-dressed surface. The space to the right is occupied by the design which I have called the Tendril pattern, being a development of the link-twist, in which the

link, offshoot, or tendril, is thrown from outside the right-hand band to pass over and under and over again, and end in a free coil between the bands. This also I have described in the section on Art, p. 43, tracing its development in figs. 27 and 28. Like the last, it becomes a favourite with our sculptors, and is of special interest as being peculiar to the crosses of the Isle of Man. All the bands and rings on this face are plain.

The proportions of the cross are:—Head, eleven inches by seven inches wide; shaft, thirty-six inches by six and three-quarter inches; arms, eight inches by six and a half inches. The circle, two and a quarter inches wide, measures sixteen and a half inches in outer diameter.

The inscription, as usual,

runs up the edge, generally to the left of the principal faces, but as it is of unusual length it has been continued on this face (B) up the space above the circle to the right, and then up the corresponding space to the left, where its end is marked with a ×.

C. The inscription, in well-formed and deeply-cut runes, evenly spaced and measuring about two and a half inches long, the lines being an eighth of an inch wide and a sixteenth of an inch deep, reads as follows:—

× MAIL : BRIKTI : SUNR : AþAKANS : SMIP : RAISTI : KRUS : þANO : FUR :
 SALU : SINA : SIN : BRUKUIN : KAUT × KIRþI : þANO : AUK ALA : I MAUN ×
 MAEL BRIGDE, SON OF ATHAKAN, THE SMITH, ERECTED THIS CROSS FOR HIS OWN SOUL
 [AND THAT OF] HIS BROTHER'S WIFE. GAUT MADE THIS AND ALL IN MAN.

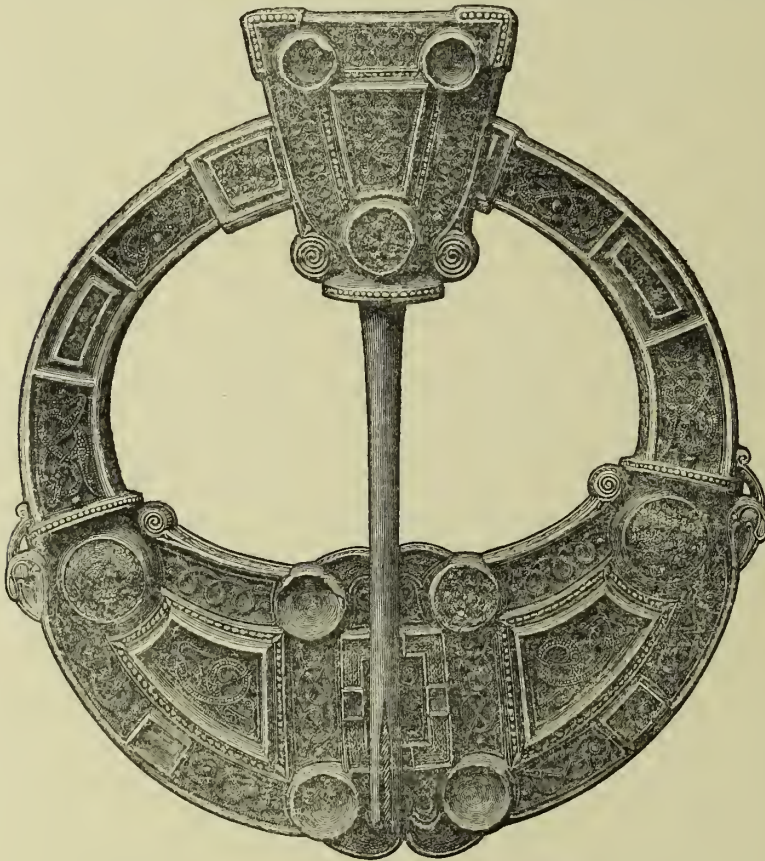
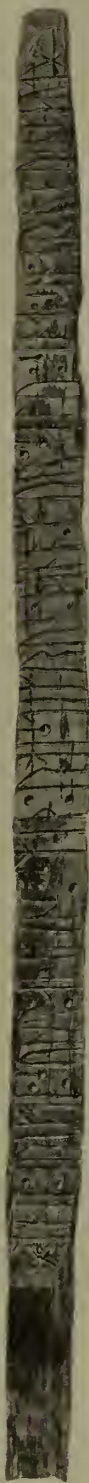


FIG. 51.—THE HUNTERSTON BROOCH.



74B



74C



74A

GEOMETRICAL.

(74B, C, A) Gaut's Cross, Michael, Scale between $\frac{1}{6}$ and $\frac{1}{7}$.

The word KAUT, followed by a \times , terminates the portion on the edge; then, on the face of the stone, above the right arm of the cross, we read the next three words, the last three being on the further side.

Professor Stephens figured the stone in his *Old Northern Runic Monuments*, vol. ii., pp. 597-9. He thought it possible that the raiser might be identical with the first recorded owner of the famous Hunterston, or Largs Brooch; or, if not, that at all events they were probably members of the same family, and the one might have been the grandfather or the grandson of the other. One ground for connecting this fibula with the Isle of Man is that we find upon it the same form of rune for B, \ddagger —rare in Scandinavia. I am able, by the kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, to figure this interesting and beautiful relic, which is now in the museum at Edinburgh. If we cannot prove its connection with the Isle of Man, at least it is of the period of some of our inscriptions, and serves to illustrate how the decorative art seen on our stone monuments was applied also to jewellers' work, for which, indeed, it is admirably adapted.

According to Stephens the inscription on the fibula reads: "Malbritha Thyle (Speaker or Lawman) in Lar owns this brooch."

In our Michael inscription we note in BRIKTI the use of T for β , as it appears on the brooch (see fig. 52). ATHAKAN appears to be a Celtic man's name. Vigfusson omitted the I in MAIL, but it is quite distinct. SMITH, from its position, must belong to ATHAKANS, standing for the genitive SMIDBS. The word is used to designate anyone who exercised an art, whether merely mechanical or intellectual, as *Ljóða smiðr*, lit. "lay, or verse-smith." So an architect is still called in Icelandic a house-smith. SINA is in the acc., instead of SINI, dat., but elsewhere we find that FUR frequently does govern in the accusative. The curious expression SIN BRUKUIN has proved a stumbling-block. Munch gave it up as a possible misreading. Cumming suggested "kinsman" and "betrothed" or "bride." Stephens imagined BRUK-VIN—a word, as he says, never met with—might signify a "leaseholder, tenant,



FIG. 52.--THE HUNTERSTON BROOCH (back, showing inscriptions).

bailiff"; and Vigfusson suggested that R and U had been transposed, and rendered it "BURG-VIN, surety-friend—a law-term of the old Manx-Norse." I am indebted to Professor Sophus Bugge, of Christiania, for an explanation which appears to be a likely one. He writes of it:—"I believe we have here met with a contracted form of writing caused by the want of space. It ought to have been written—MAIL BRIKTI SUNR A \ddot{A} AKANS SMI \ddot{A} RAISTI KRUS \ddot{A} ANA FUR SALU SINA [AUK] SIN [AR] BRU [\ddot{A} UR] KUIN[U] . . . for his soul and that of his brother's wife." Similar contracted writing is known sometimes to occur, e.g., Dybeck Run-Urkunder, f. 261— \ddot{A} ILTU RISTIN IFTIR BRU, instead of \ddot{A} I[R] L[I]TU RIS[AS]TIN IFTIR BRU[\ddot{A} UR]. It also happens that auk, *and*, is omitted. In the same way we find that a stone is raised for the souls of several persons¹—SUEN : GISLAR : SUN : LIT : GIRA : BRU : \ddot{A} ASA FIRIR . SIAL : SINA OK FA \ddot{A} UR SINS : Liljegren Run-Urkunder, 1352. He continues—BRO[\ddot{A} UR] KUIN[U] has been pronounced bróðurkvinnu. The usual form is bróðurkónu. But KUINU occurs in Andreas 103 and Conchan 113. The brother of Maelbrigdi was probably dead when he erected the cross, and thus he has included his brother's wife in the prayer. We have also other instances of monuments erected to persons' memory in their lifetime, that of Queen Aud, in the ninth century, being an early one.

Dr. Brate, however, objects to the above rendering as being too great a tax on the intelligence of the readers, and thinks it unlikely that the writer would have shortened so important a part of the inscription when he had room to spare for statements concerning his own activity as a Rune-writer. He suggests that IN should be connected with the following sentence, a second clause in other inscriptions being always introduced by IN; that SIN is an Anglo-Saxon expression borrowed into old Norse—*syn*, "sin," and forming the first part of a compound adjective. It would not, he thinks, be surprising if the Old Norse people had borrowed theological terms from Anglo-Saxons that their own language was void of.

With respect to the rest he now sends me the following note:—"BRUKU, the second part of the same adjective, belongs to the Old Norse adjective *rangr*; older form, *vrangr*; English, *wrong*. The beginning *vr* was long retained in Southern Norway, where it is still prevailing in some dialects, and the Norse of Man may be supposed to have preserved it likewise; and, if preserved, it may have differed from the *v* in *Kvinna* for instance, so as to be represented by BR. The adjective SIN : BRUKU is the accusative feminine of the weak declension belonging to SALU; accordingly the expression runs:—'for his sin-wrong (sinful) soul.' BRUKU corresponds with Icelandic *röngu*. It may be attributed to its position in an unstressed syllable, or before NG, that the *ö* has changed so as to be expressed by U in BRUKU, although it is given by AU in MAUN, Icelandic, *Mön*; and there are parallels to that phenomenon in Old Norse, *vide* A. Noreen, *Altislandische u. altnorwegische Grammatik*, 3 ed., §§ 141, 110. As a rule the definite article is placed between a possessive pronoun and the adjective it is connected with, but there are some instances of its omission, and that alternative may have been preferred by the writer here to save space. Now and then a group of runes was read twice to represent two subsequent words; if so here, INA might stand for the missing article in what one expects—namely, FUR : SALU : SINA[INA] : SIN : BRUKU."

While admitting the ingenuity of Dr. Brate's suggestion as above, and, in particular, the reasonableness of expecting a second clause in a sentence to begin with IN, it does not

¹ So, at Llantwit, in a Celtic inscription from the end of the ninth century, we read: "Howel erected this cross for the soul of his father, Rhys" (*Lap. Wall.*, pl. 5). The expression "for his own soul" occurs more than once.

appear to me to be so likely a reading as that of Professor Bugge, of which we meet with analogous instances elsewhere. If IN were not only a separate word, but even the beginning of a new sentence, I should expect a word-division between it and the preceding one almost more than between any other two words. Certainly I should expect, if space were the consideration, that it would be omitted between RAISTI KRUS, or SALU SINA, or SIN BRUKU, rather than between BRUKU IN. As regards the amount of space, I suppose that the artist had not at first intended to go beyond the edge—his doing so was an afterthought; and as to the call upon the sagacity of the reader, it is not greater than in the instance quoted by Professor Bugge.

In the name of the artist, Vigfusson¹ took the second letter to be *o* rather than *a*, *ou* being the current Norse form of the diphthong *au* in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. The character here, however, as in the second letter of the first word, is distinctly þ *a*, with the stroke on the right instead of on the left side, and þ *a*, is the spelling of his name by the same man on the Andreas stone 73. The next word gives the spelling *i* instead of *a*, as in the Andreas inscription. The last word is interesting, as showing the pronunciation in the eleventh century of the name of the island—Mannin in Manx, Mannan in Irish, in old Welsh Manau, Monapia of Pliny, Icelandic Mön, here given as MAUN.

As to Gaut's boast that he "made this and all in Man," I think we are bound to regard the claim as made in good faith, though necessarily with limitations. He must have meant it to apply only to the Scandinavian pieces; the nearest Celtic pieces to his district would be at Peel, and they, as well as those at Marown and Braddan, had probably been long lost sight of, while it is easy to understand that the East coast of the island was in those roadless days so cut off by the hills that he might never have heard of the many Celtic pieces in Conchan or Lonan, or of the wonderful collection with the beautifully decorated late pieces at Maughold. The word "all" must be taken to mean more than three or four; so, too, the words "in Man" must signify more than a district in the west. We do not meet with his name again. Doubtless many of his pieces have been lost, but a few which show his treatment, such as the "Clagh Ard," at Ballaqueeney, Port St. Mary, may well have been carved by him. If I am right in regarding the Maughold piece 72, which certainly is not Gaut's work, as erected to Bishop Roolwer between 1060 and 1070, we may suppose Gaut to have begun his work about 1040 to 1050, by which time the Scandinavian settlers had become Christian.

75.—Michael. Plate xxxi.—Kinnebrook, 5, 4. Cumming, 4, a, b.

This stone, now in the porch at Michael Parish Church, was in Cumming's time lying on the churchyard wall, as it was when etched by Kinnebrook in 1841.

What remains of it measures fifty-one inches by eleven and a half inches, and two and a half inches thick. If the proportions were as in the last—height of cross six times the width of shaft—it would have been thirty-nine inches, and the whole stone at least sixty inches; or, if we take the length as two and a half times the expansion of the arms, which is the proportion in the last (the arms must have been about the width of the stone), the cross would have measured about thirty inches long. As the whole of the head is lost, and the design on the shaft shows that there must have been some inches at least between it and

¹ *Manx Note Book*, 1887, p. 10.

the top of the stone as now broken, the slab must originally have been about sixty-six inches.

A. The shaft bears the ring-chain pattern as in the last, the rings expanding at their sides almost to a point. The space to the right has a plain twist, close and even, the surface between the bands left in the form of narrow, flat pellets; that to the left bears a form of the link-twist,¹ the right-hand band throwing a link from the outside to pass over and under, probably to merge in the other band, apparently identical with that on the last, 74, except that the link passes upwards instead of downwards, and, though the extreme edge of the stone is broken, sufficient remains, I think, to show that I am right. The spaces between the bands have not been cut away, and the almond-shaped pellets thus formed are ornamented with little incised chevrons.

B. The shaft on this face is ornamented by a twist-and-ring—two unusually broad, plain bands, with circular rings at the points of crossing. It terminates with scroll-like flourishes, now almost worn away. The space to the right has plain key-pattern. The space to the left has been occupied by the inscription, of which little now remains:—

[. . . RAISTI KRU]S : þNA : AF[TIR . . .
[A.B. ERECTED] THIS CROSS TO THE MEMORY OF . . .

Munch, Kneale, and Vigfusson read the second word *TnAN*, but it is distinctly *TnNA*, an abbreviation of *ThINA*; the character-strokes are very lightly scratched, but they can be traced. The next word appears, from the number of the scores—four, of which the lower half remains—to have been *AFTIR*. The runes measure an inch and a half long, the lines being an eighth of an inch wide and a sixteenth of an inch deep. The carving on both faces is three-sixteenths of an inch in relief, the cross on the first face (A) standing out from half-an-inch to an inch, but only a quarter of an inch on the other face.

76.—Ballaqueeney, Rushen. Plate xxxi.—Kinnebrook, 26, Cumming, 14.

This fine slab now stands exposed to the weather at the corner of the road from Port Erin to Port St. Mary. In Cumming's time it was used to form "one side of a doorway into a cowshed opposite the inn." Originally it was set up in the burial-ground of the old Keeil on Ballaqueeney, close to the present railway station, and was known as the Clagh Ard, "high stone." Mr. Kelly tells me of an old woman with whom he had often spoken who remembered sitting under it in that position.

It is a rectangular slab of fine proportions, over eleven feet long by twenty-six inches wide, and from five to seven inches thick. Both faces have been carved, but are now so weathered and worn that it is difficult to make anything out of them. There is a strong general resemblance to Gaut's Andreas stone, 73, and I think it likely to have been worked by him on a stone brought from Spanish Head.

A. A little of the carving remains on the foot, where it has been better preserved by having been buried in the ground. Upon this face we seem to have the ring-chain pattern on the shaft, ending irregularly so as to suggest a plait. The space to the right shows tendril-pattern, that to the left twist-and-ring. Traces of the circle remain, but the pattern on the head is completely obliterated. The left upper and right lower hollow recess between

¹ Mistaken by Cumming for the more ordinary twist-and-ring patterns.



75A

75B

76B

76A

GEOMETRICAL.

(75A, B) Michael; (76B, A) from the site of an ancient Keel on Ballaqueeny, Port St. Mary, Rushen.

the limbs have happened to correspond exactly with the recesses on the other face, and so have accidentally been pierced through. Cross and circle have been bordered with plain bead mouldings.

The proportions of the cross are as follows:—head, fifteen or sixteen inches; arms, about eleven; shaft, seventy-two inches. The arms appear to have been from eight to nine inches wide, and the shaft, perhaps nine and a half inches at the top, expands at the bottom to eleven inches.

B. This face is even more worn, but shows remains of a similar cross and circle; the extremity of the right arm, which alone preserves traces of the decoration, exhibits Gaut's design of bands linked by a V-shaped loop interlaced in a ring. The hollows, corresponding to those on the other face, are pierced. The shaft has had a plait-of-five, the space to the left twist-and-ring, the other a plait-of-four. The proportions are much the same as on the other face—head, sixteen to seventeen inches; arms, ten and eleven inches by nine inches wide; shaft, seventy-two inches in length, and in width from about nine and a half to eleven and a half inches at the bottom. The carving is now three-sixteenths of an inch in relief, the cross half an inch, and the hollow recesses about half an inch deep.

77.—Ballaugh. Plate xxxii.—Kinnebrook, 6. Cumming, 2, a, b.

Only one of these monuments has been found in the parish of Ballaugh. It was in the burial-ground of the old parish church, which probably occupies an ancient site, when seen by Kinnebrook. About 1890 I placed it within the church, and it has now been set up near the font. The stone itself has been shaped so as to be round, or wheel-headed, with expanding base, which at the bottom has been narrowed to fit into a socket. The total height is fifty-four inches; width across the head, nineteen inches; at the base, twenty and a half inches; and across the fust, fourteen inches; and it is three inches thick. The decoration is very artistic, and highly finished.

A. One face shows a cross of the usual form, but without a circle. It is bordered by a plain bead. The shaft bears the fully-developed tendril-pattern, its beauty enhanced, and the nature of the design emphasized, by having one of the bands and the tendrils double-beaded, the other band pelleted. The head is treated in Gaut's manner, except that the bands interlace around a central boss instead of through a ring. They terminate in each limb in a loop, which takes the form of a triquetra knot. The bands, which merge into one past the points of interlacing, are pelleted, the knots double-beaded. The space to the left shows a key-fret, double-beaded; that to the right a plain ring-chain terminated below by elaborate flourishes, and above by a small Celtic crosslet. Above the head is a horizontal band with plait-of-three, continued on either side to form the design of two diagonal oval rings interlaced, and finished with elaborate flourishes.

The proportions of the cross are:—head, eight inches by six inches, reduced to five and three-quarter inches at the top; shaft, twenty-seven inches by six inches; and arms, eight and a quarter inches by five and a half inches.

B. This face bears a cross of similar form, the limbs connected by a circle approximately true, having just a little squareness below. The shaft is decorated with a beautiful design, which is a further evolution of the tendril-pattern; this consists of two bands converging and diverging at regular intervals. At the points of nearest approach they

are connected by a down-turned link, expanding into the tongue-shaped figure of the ring-chain pattern, being in fact the special design applied by Gaut in his decoration of the arms of the cross, with the direction of the tongue or buckle reversed, and interlacing in the same way with a ring. The head exhibits Gaut's peculiar treatment, all the limbs terminating in the looped buckle-and-ring pattern evolved by him; but, as on the other face, a flat boss takes the place of the usual central ring. The effect of the whole is heightened by the bands and rings in the head being pelleted, as also the rings and the outer parts of the bands in the shaft, the rest being plain. The circle is plain, but bordered by incised lines. The space to the right of the shaft has a plait-of-four, terminating below in elaborate flourishes, and having a row of round pellets in the central spaces. Pellets also border the patterns on the shafts of both faces. The space to the left bears the inscription.

The proportions of the cross are:—Head, nine and three-quarter inches by five and a half inches, tapering to five inches at the top; shaft, thirty and a quarter inches by six and three-eighths inches, diminishing to six inches at the bottom; arms, eight and three-quarter inches by five and a half and six inches. The carving on each face is one-eighth of an inch in relief, the cross standing out about half an inch, and the circle on this face a quarter of an inch. The circle, two and three-quarter inches broad, is about seventeen and a half inches in outer diameter.

The inscription runs up the space to the left of the shaft, terminating in the flat recess between the limbs and the surrounding circle. Though the upper half is rather worn, there can be no mistake about the characters, which are from two inches to three and three-quarter inches long, and the lines only about a sixteenth of an inch wide and deep.

OU LAIBR : LIUTULBSUNR : RAIS[T]I : [K]RS . þANA : AIFTIR ULB : SUNSIN

OLAF LIOTULFSON ERECTED THIS CROSS TO THE MEMORY OF ULF HIS SON.

The first word was taken for *Thorlaibr*, Thorleifr, by Munch, Cumming and Kneale, the U being mistaken for R, and an initial þ supposed from some indistinct tool marks below the þ, which here stands for nasalized A. The initial of the following words is shorter than the succeeding runes, and was mistaken for a worn þ, making *Thjodulfi* (*Thiostulfi*), according to Munch, but Cumming and Kneale read *Thoriulb*, for which there was no excuse. Vigfusson recognised the names as here given. "Oulaib," he remarks, "is one of the many forms of the famous Norse name Olaf, which, in different places and at different times, has undergone strange transformations. This form, however, is unique, and is interesting as the parent to the Scottish *Auliffe* (Auleif, Aulei)." ¹ The Scandinavian name Aleifr, Oláfr, was rendered by Anlaf in the *Saxon Chronicle*; and on Scandinavian coins from the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries, we find Onlaf, Onlafr, Unlafi. In the Irish Chronicles it is Amhlabh; thus RIGH AMHLAB was King Olave the White in Dublin. The present Manx forms of the name are Cowley and Kewley, the prefix Mac having been dropped in the Isle of Man, and its final letter become merged as an initial to the name following. AULAIBR, says Professor Bugge, "expresses the pronunciation *álæibr* with long nasal A, from *anulaibar*, just as the short unnasal Å in Manx inscriptions is rendered

¹ *Manx Note Book*, 1887, p. 12.



77B



77A

GEOMETRICAL.

(77B, A) Ballaugh.

by *au*." In this word he thinks the use of the B has been retained by tradition from antique Old Norse inscriptions, where "B" in this position was pronounced as a spirant. Names in *laibr*, *labr*, correspond with Old German names in *leib*. These are elsewhere found written with *b*; OALIB, Torin No. 64 (Vestergothland), *i.e.*, Olaib, acc.; doubtful AULAAB, or ULAB, Melhaug, Sole, Stavanger district; uncertain ALAIB on a lost stone from Stanberg, Ringerike.

The second name, Liotulf, is originally one of the compound names on Leod (now common in McLeod). Mac Thor Leod has become one of the most frequent of Manx surnames, by dropping the Mac but retaining the final c, as was done in the seventeenth century in the case of all our surnames, and by losing the pronunciation of the Th, taking finally the form Corlett, still pronounced by some of the old people "Curleod." Under the form Ljótolf, the name occurs in *Landnáma*. In a reversed form Ulf-liótr was the name of the Lawman who brought the constitution to Iceland, afterwards called Wolf-Leod's Laws, when the Allthing was established. Vigfusson says of it, *Liot* "is the same as Old Teutonic leòd, people. Strange to say this 't' runs through the whole of the Leod names in Iceland (Liòt-unn Liòt-ulf, Thór-liòt), and here we find it, too, in the Isle of Man." Probably the "t" shows the name to be borrowed from Anglo-Saxon, *Ljótolf* corresponding with A. S. *Leod-wulf*, just as Icelandic *Játmundur* with A. S. *Eadmund*. The final s of this word has been omitted, as the next word, SUNR, begins with an s. The following word was RAISTI. The first three letters can be traced with certainty. The short s, which I can detect though worn, is followed by the lower half of the stem of the next letter, giving the appearance of η , which, no doubt, led Munch (taking I to be a defective T) to read *raist*. This is followed by a longer stem-line, which must be the final I. Vigfusson only allows RA for this word, but except for the upper part with the character-stroke for the T they are perfectly clear. For the next Vigfusson gives .US, but in this inscription R and U are very distinctly formed, and cannot be mistaken. Munch and Kneale read KRUS, which it never was, and Cumming was right in giving it as CRS; but the character-stroke of the first letter is flaked away. The U was omitted for want of space. All these authorities give nasal A as the first vowel in *thana*, but not only are the two strokes to the right of the stem absent, but I can distinctly see on the left the character-stroke of A running into the lower part of the bow of þ. The next word gives our only example of the use of AI for E in *eftir*. F is broken above the lower character-stroke, and the upper part of the R is flaked off, but there can be no possible doubt about them. The following word is divided by the circle connecting the limbs of the cross. The U on one side of the circle, and the B on the other, are perfectly clear and distinct, and Munch reads the word UB. There is, however, room for the L below the circle, and I am able to trace it there, with the character-stroke faint but certain. Vigfusson mistook the broken line bordering the circle for a character. He was mistaken, too, in supposing the UN of SUN to be a bind rune, the two letters being quite distinct, though faint. In the final word are two scores which look almost like a narrow U. I think they are not intended for II, though we do find the spelling SIIN in Braddan 110, but here are due to a slip or to some hesitation in cutting the stroke of the I. Vigfusson insists upon it that all the word-divisions are formed by three dots, but this only occurs after the first word, where the space is broader. We cannot suppose this inscription to have been cut by Gaut; the shapes of the runes, the manner of cutting them, and the use of the nasalized A, are

signs of another hand, as is the outline and the whole appearance of the stone. The perfect tendril-pattern, highly finished and decorated, and the graceful design evolved from the link-twist and the ring-chain patterns combined, show that it cannot be earlier, though Vigfusson, judging from the spelling and form of the inscription alone, considers it as "one of the earliest, if not the very earliest, of the Manx crosses." Whoever may have been the sculptor, he was a worthy successor of Gaut Björnson.

78.—Jurby. Plate xxxiii.—Cumming (edge), pl. xi., 31.

At the old Keeil on the West Nappin, Jurby, close by the parish church, are two portions of a broken slab, which for many years formed a lintel over the East window. It was in that position when Cumming had his cast made of the exposed edge which bears the key-fret. In 1891 I was permitted by the proprietor, Mr. D. R. Clarke, to have it taken out of the wall for the purpose of examining and casting the face. In removing it I discovered the smaller piece built into the middle of the wall above it, and found it to be part of the same slab, fitting into the lower part of the other, and enabling us to restore a good deal of the pattern.

The larger piece measures seventy-five inches by eleven inches at the foot, to nine inches at a point about twenty-four inches from the top, from which point it tapers rapidly till it strikes the line of a joint in the stone. It is from three and a half inches to five inches thick. The other piece is forty-nine inches long by eight inches at its widest part, and about four inches thick. When put together we can judge the original dimensions of the slab to have been about eighty-two inches by twenty-one inches at the top, expanding to about twenty-four at the foot.

A. One face shows the outline of the shaft, which is now flaked away. The lower right-hand quarter of the connecting circle, bordered by a plain bead, shows plait-of-three, consisting of a twist of one continuous band with an odd band plaited through, terminating at both ends so as to resemble a plait-of-four. At the extremity of the arm we see Gaut's treatment, the interlaced ring being scored in rectangular pellets. The space to the right is occupied by tendril-pattern, which is decorated with some fanciful curved scores, and a tasselled pellet below the second tendril. The smaller piece has this face entirely flaked away.

B. The other face has borne a similar cross and circle, with bead border, the circle otherwise plain. The left arm, which alone remains, must have been about eleven inches long, and expands from seven to nine inches. It seems to have borne Gaut's treatment. The shaft has been fifty-two inches long by nine inches wide at the top to ten inches at the foot. The upper part of the smaller piece fits on to the larger one, and by putting them together we see that it has had a plait-of-five. The space to the left is very worn, but shows remains of interlacing or knotwork with broad and narrow bands. The smaller piece contains a part of the shaft and a fragment of the space to the right, which has had ring-chain.

The carving on both faces is from an eighth of an inch to three-sixteenths of an inch in relief; the cross on face **A** three-quarters of an inch, on the other face from one quarter to three-eighths of an inch; and the circle five-eighths of an inch on **A**, and about three-sixteenths of an inch on this face.



78A

78C

78B

GEOMETRICAL.

(78A, C, B) Broken Slab from Treen Church, Nappin, Jurby.



79

80

81C

81A

81B

GEOMETRICAL.

(79, 80) Fragments from Jurby; (81C, A, B) Osruth Cross, St. John's, German.

C. The edge, figured by Cumming, bears a well-drawn key pattern, terminating in a fold at the bottom. There is still missing a large portion of the slab, bearing on either face the head and upper portion of the shaft of a cross, and, possibly, upon the other edge an inscription. Most likely, however, it has been broken into fragments, some of which may be built into the walls of the keel.

79.—Jurby. Plate xxxiv.

A few years ago I found three broken fragments, one very small, lying loose on the wall of Jurby churchyard.

The first measures twenty-two inches by five and a half inches wide, and from three and a half to four inches thick. One face is flaked away; the other face shows remains of the head and the neck of the right arm of a cross of the usual form, bordered with a plain bead. Two vertical bands and some slight marks appear to indicate Gaut's treatment; the shaft has evidently been decorated with plait-work or ring-chain. The carving is an eighth of an inch in relief, the hollow recesses about three-eighths of an inch.

One is able to judge from these curved recesses that the right arm must have been eight inches wide. If, as is probable, there was a circle, its outer diameter must have been about eighteen inches; the width of the stone, therefore, would be from eighteen to twenty inches. Comparing these measurements with those of Gaut's crosses, 73 and 74, we may assume the size to have been originally about that of the large Andreas stone, 73; and we may expect the remainder, or some portions of it, to be found if ever the present church is pulled down.

80.—Jurby. Plate xxxiv.

This small fragment, which I found near the last, may possibly have formed a portion of it, but I think, from the carving, it belonged to another piece. It is a mere flake, and measures only six and three-quarter inches by about four inches, and one inch to one-eighth of an inch thick. There remain bits of two broad, pelleted bands set at such an angle as to suggest that it is broken off the neck of a cross bearing Gaut's V-shaped, looped endings in the limbs. The carving is an eighth of an inch in relief.

81.—St. John's, German. Plate xxxiv.—Cumming, 5.

This piece is now set up in the porch of St. John's, German, at the Tynwald mound. It was found in the old church of St. John's when that was pulled down in 1850.

The stone measures fifty-three inches by thirteen inches wide, and about four and a half inches thick. Originally, allowing for an inscription in the usual formula, now broken off, it may have been eighty-four inches long or more.

A. One face only has been carved; it shows the lower part of the shaft of a cross, bordered by a plain bead and decorated with plain ring-chain pattern. It is from nine and a half to ten and a half inches wide, the spaces at the sides being unusually narrow, so that the cross must have had very short arms unless, indeed, this formed a panel below it. There is no other ornament, and the other face has not been touched with a tool.

B. One edge has had an irregular pattern formed by a few diagonal curved strokes alternately from left to right and from right to left. I was reminded of it on seeing the Killeaney cross, Inismor, Galway, which shows on one edge a spiral followed by half a dozen diagonal scores, and then by a reverse spiral, and so on.

C. The inscription runs up the other edge, beginning at a point about thirteen inches from the bottom of the stone. The runes are about two and three-quarter inches long, the lines from a sixteenth to an eighth of an inch deep. Four of them near the beginning are broken, but can be deciphered; the rest are quite clear. They read as follows:—

INOSRÚÞR : RAIST : RUNAR : ÞSAR ×
 BUT OSRUTH CARVED THESE RUNES ×

We have here the use of þ as nasal A in the word Osruth (Asrþór), a man's name which appears in *Landnáma*, iv. 3 (Isl. ss. 1, 245), originating from Asfrþór. Vigfusson gives it as a woman's name, since "*Thruth* is a female name both singly and in its several compounds (*Her-thruth*, *Arn-thruth*)." Munch, Cumming and Kneale read the seventh letter as I, but the bow of the þ may be traced. Munch also read I for the short S. The first word IN, for EN, *but*, is used to begin a sentence without any disjunctive notion; much the same as *and*.

The last word has been misread by all except Vigfusson, though it is particularly clear, THSAR—our only instance of this contraction for *thessar*. The peculiar form of A with character-stroke on the left side of the stem-line, þ, occurs at Nyby, in Upland, Sweden, and elsewhere. (See Stephens' *O.N.R. Mon.*, i., p. 135.)

This word is followed by a cross-mark showing that the sentence is complete. It could not, as regards position, have been preceded by another, yet the first word, IN, seems to imply a previous sentence. Above are five strokes, evidently the stems of runes, and they probably formed part of the name of the person who caused the cross to be erected. Then, as an afterthought, the rune-cutter's name was added below.

82.—Maughold. Plate xxxv.

One is reminded of the last piece in a stone found at Kirk Maughold in 1900, at the foundation of the North-west corner of the church. Both faces are carved, each showing the broken shaft of a cross. It measures forty-five inches long by only twelve inches wide, expanding at the foot to fourteen inches.

A. One face has the ring-chain pattern on the shaft, bordered by a line which comes round the bottom of the V-shaped tongues, suggesting that the sculptor of this stone had copied the pattern without recognizing the idea of a continuous chain.

B. The shaft on this face bears the double-twist and diamond-shaped ring design, which terminates in a plait. The bands are double-beaded, and the rings bordered by fine lines; below the last ring are four flat pellets in the spaces left by the plait; below are two much larger pellets. The shafts on both faces have plain bead borders. Each "shaft" also occupies the full width of the stone, and it seems likely, therefore, that this may have been a decorated panel, having, perhaps, a small encircled cross above it. The carving is from a quarter of an inch to three-eighths of an inch in relief, and has been executed with a square-pointed punch.

83.—Andreas. Plate xxxvi.

There is a fragment of a small cross at Andreas which I first noticed in the Rectory garden about 1885 in a rockery. Nobody could tell me where it came from or when it was found; probably it had been in the church wall, and was brought to light in the course of repairs. It measures twenty-four inches by nine inches, and four and a half inches

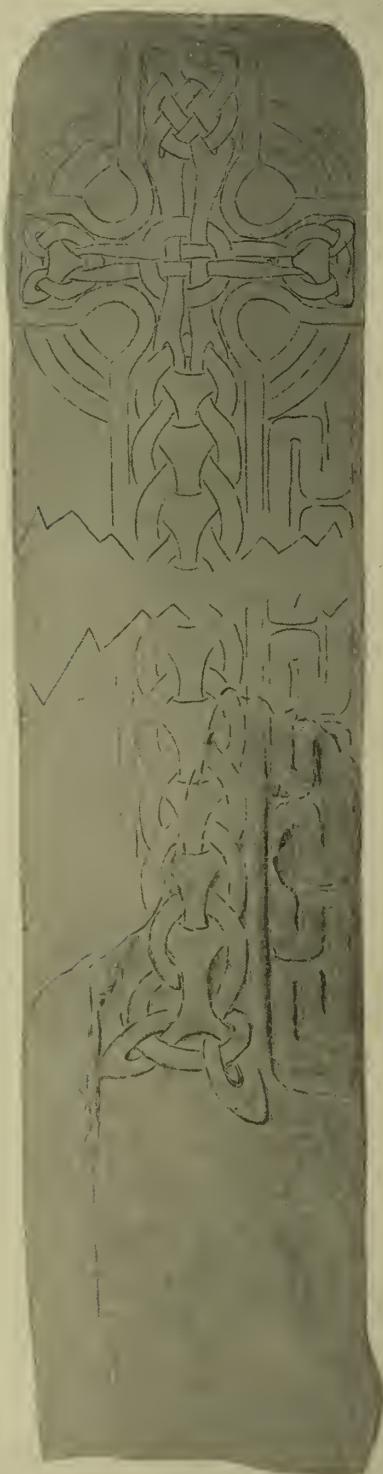


82B

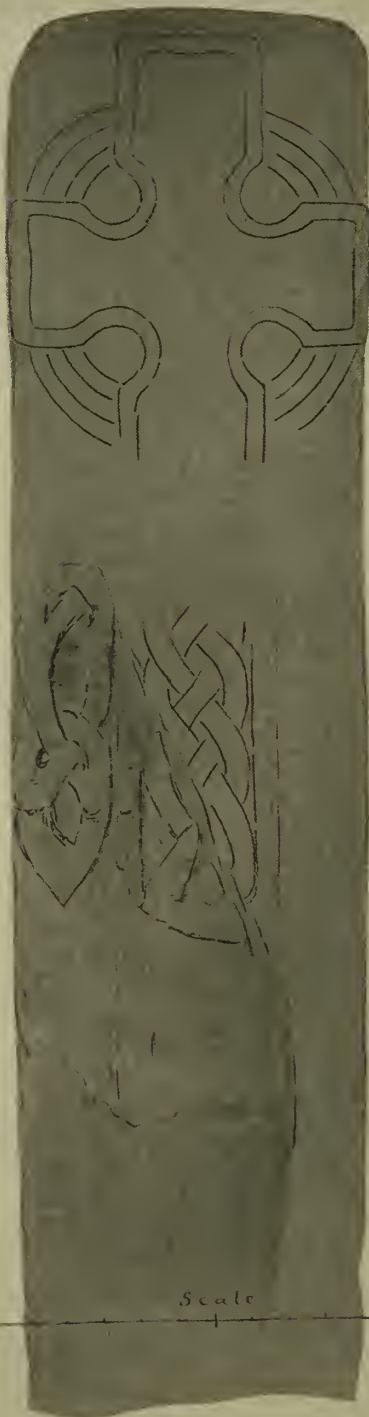
GEOMETRICAL.

82A

(82B, A) Slab showing broken shaft of Cross, Maughold.

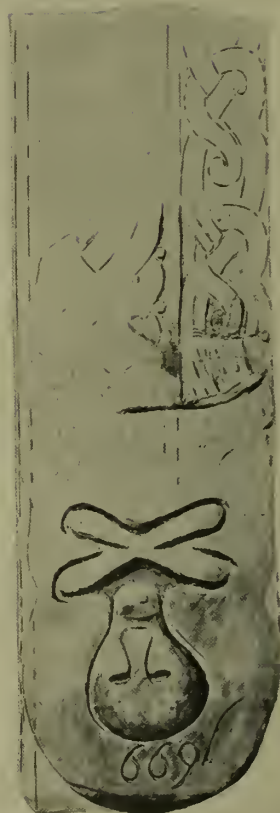
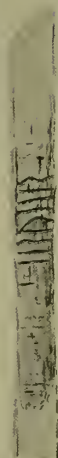


83A

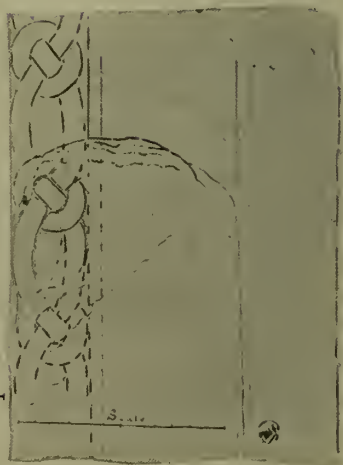


83B

GEOMETRICAL.



85B



(83A, B) Fragment from Andreas; (85A, B, C) Inscribed Fragment, Michael (this had been turned round and converted into a tombstone in 1699).

thick. I should judge the cross itself to have been not less than thirty inches high, which would make the original length of the stone about forty-two inches. Each face shows the lower part of the shaft of a cross.

A. One face has had a shaft with plain bead border about four inches wide, decorated with the ring-chain pattern, which shows a curious irregular termination of loops. The space to the right has had a well-formed key-fret; that to the left is chipped away.

B. The other face has had on the shaft interlacing too broken to decipher—it may have been a plait-of-four. The space to the left shows the link-twist as on Gaut's cross, Michael 74, the link thrown upward, and over and under from right to left. The relief on both faces is from one-sixteenth to one-eighth of an inch, the cross standing out three-sixteenths to a quarter of an inch.

84.—Andreas. Plate xxxvii.

At Andreas also is a broken piece bearing remains of an inscription in bind-runes. This I found in November, 1886, when examining the other crosses in the churchyard. As I passed near the South-east corner my eye fell on a lichen-covered stone, only about six inches above the ground, at the head of a modern grave. The evening light falling upon it seemed to show some carving, and it did not take me long to pull up the stone and discover its nature. I removed it at once to the church, and it now stands with the other Andreas pieces against the North wall of the church. It measures twenty-two inches long by ten inches and a quarter wide, and two and three-quarter inches thick. Each face bears a portion of the shaft of a cross, but both ends are broken off.

A. The shaft has the tendril-pattern, and the space to the right key-fret, both double-beaded; the space to the left is broken off.

B. The shaft bears twist-and-ring, a design rarely met with in this position; the space to the right a link-twist, as on the last, save that the link passes first under and then over, the band widening as it approaches the offshoot, and the spaces between them irregular; the links also are filled in with little pellets. The bands throughout are double-beaded. The space to the left is occupied by the inscription.

The carving is from three-sixteenths to an eighth of an inch in relief; the shaft on **A** three-eighths of an inch, and on **B** a quarter of an inch.

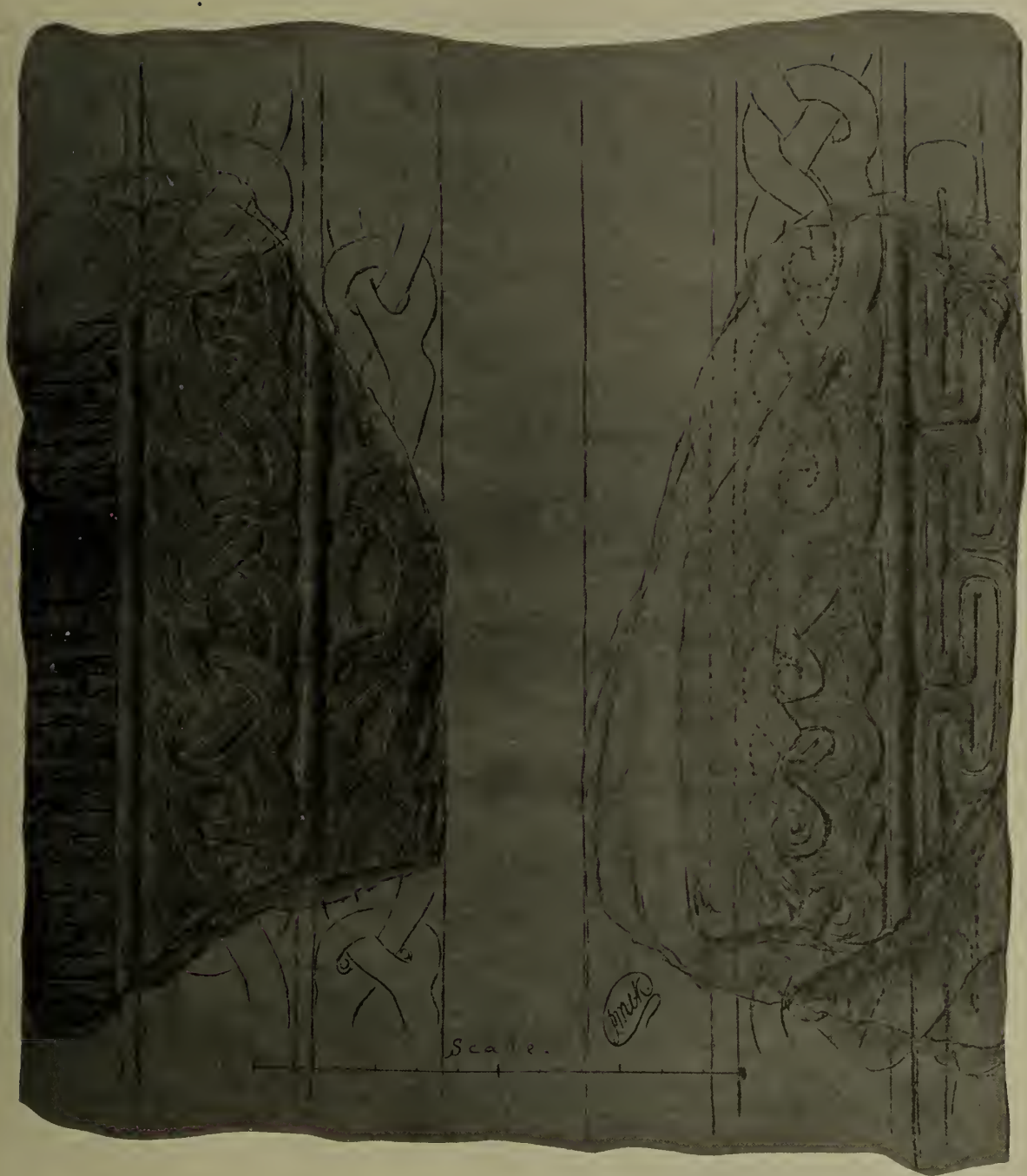
The inscription appears to be in bind-runes, and I regret I have not been able to decipher them. They are well cut and evenly spaced, measuring two and a half inches long, the lines about an eighth of an inch wide by a sixteenth of an inch deep. Probably they would have been both preceded and followed by other characters, as at least twelve inches must have been broken off from the top, and we cannot say how much from the bottom. Most likely they are to be read upwards, as is usually the case, and the design of link-twist on this face, and more certainly the tendril-pattern on the other, show which has been the upper end of the stone.

Including the word-divisions or punctuation signs, there are now twenty-eight characters. The first is broken, but shows a character-stroke which may have stood for TH. 2 appears to be a bind-rune of M and TH, and there may have been another stroke below, now broken off. 3 seems to show K above, and R (the sixteenth rune) below. 4 has K above, and the usual Scandinavian form for B below. 5 shows on the stem-line two circles, the upper one

smaller and not complete; below is R, the sixteenth rune. 6 has two strokes falling on to the stem on the left, and on the right three strokes falling in the same direction. 7 seems at the top to be a bind of M and TH; at the bottom it shows again the sixteenth rune, R. 8 has three strokes falling from the left of the stem to join 7; on the right is an upward stroke scarcely high enough up for K, and a bow below, which might be TH, made with some hesitation and in two cuts; at the foot is another upward stroke. 9, on the left a stroke like one half of M; on the right a stroke which might stand for L, and, below, the stroke of U with two bars falling on the stem-line. 10, on the left a stroke similar to that on the last, with a trace of a corresponding stroke on the right, making M; and on the right a bow like an upside-down U, with a properly-formed U below; the upper U is crossed by a diagonal stroke below that which may form the right half of M, and the lower by three diagonal strokes parallel to those of the upper one. 11 might be a bind for KB. 12, on the left, has at the top a stroke falling from the stem-line, and at the bottom one in the opposite direction; to the right is a well-formed bow, as of TH. 13 has at a little distance below the top the character-strokes of the usual Scandinavian T; in the middle a circle, as on 5; at the bottom, R, the sixteenth rune. 14 looks like a well-formed U, with seven diagonal strokes falling on to the stem. 15 shows five or, possibly, six strokes falling from the left side of the stem, and six from the right. 16 appears to be a bind of MR. This is followed by 17, a punctuation mark. 18 has a curved stroke upwards on the left; on the right, at the top, the character-stroke of K, followed by that of TH below, and at the foot the sixteenth rune, R. 19, on the left, appears to show the character-stroke for T at a little distance from the top, and on the right a longer stroke slightly curved, below which is another parallel stroke with two short bars pointing upwards; near the bottom two diagonal strokes fall on to the stem-line on the left, and on the right, one or possibly two. 20, broken at the top, shows the beginning of the character-strokes for M, that on the right lower than the one on the left, and at the foot K reversed. 21 is a punctuation mark. 22 looks like a bind for NR, the sixteenth rune. 23 has in the middle a circle like those in 13 and 5; at the top on the right the stroke of K, and at the foot of a K reversed. 24 is a stem-line with seven short strokes falling from the right side. 25 is like an inverted U, also with seven strokes falling from the stem-line on the right. 26 shows at the top the stroke of L, and an upward stroke from the bottom on the right, as in 8. 27 has on the left the bow of TH turned backwards; at the top the stroke of L (but a slight mark to the left might be the remains of another stroke making it T); at the foot is the right half of R, the sixteenth rune, and again a little break on the left may be the remains of the corresponding stroke. 28 shows now only the stem-line. This reading gives us no vowels excepting the U five times, and that may have been designed with the express intention of making it more difficult to decipher.

85.—Michael. Plate xxxvi.

When taking casts for me of some of the crosses at Kirk Michael, in March, 1899, Mr. Royston noticed that a well-known tombstone in the churchyard, bearing a skull and crossbones, with the date 1699, appeared to have some carving below. Upon taking it out of the ground it became evident that this had in fact been the lower end of an eleventh or twelfth century cross, which had been turned round, the lower end shaped anew and formed into a rounded head, and set up afresh in the latter half of the seventeenth



84B

GEOMETRICAL.

84A

(84B, A) Broken Slab with Bind-rune Inscription, Andreas.

century, illustrating incidentally the different ideas of art which prevailed in the two periods.

The stone now measures thirty-five inches long by thirteen and a half to fourteen and a half inches wide, and two and a half inches thick. Each face shows the lower end of the shaft of a cross, probably about nine inches wide originally. One face (A) has had a plait on the shaft, and on the space to the right tendril-pattern, double-beaded. The space to the left is broken off. The other face (B) is smoothed away, only a bit of the space to the left of the shaft remaining; this shows twist-and-ring design. C.—One edge has borne an inscription; the end is broken off and the beginning has been chipped away to shape the new head of the stone. The characters are much worn; they measure about two inches long, and the lines are less than an eighth of an inch wide by about a sixteenth of an inch deep. All that can now be deciphered is the word RUNER, Runes, preceded by the stem-line of another, and indications of several more characters. Doubtless, as on the piece at St. John's 81, we had here the name of the rune writer. The two characters which I read N E are, unfortunately, much worn about the middle, but I can detect the stroke in one and the dot of the other.

86.—Braddan. Plate xxxviii.—Cumming, *Archæol. Camb.*, 1865, and *Manx Soc.*, vol. xv., p. 13, fig. 1.

In Braddan churchyard is a broken rectangular slab, sixty inches long by seventeen inches wide, and two to four inches thick. Not less than nine inches have been broken off from the top. It had, says Cumming, formed a doorstep in the church, and this accounts for the very worn appearance of one face.

A. One can just make out the form of the cross and circle bordered by bead mouldings, the shaft about forty-three inches long by eight and a half to nine inches wide. Its surface, and that of the space to the left side, has been completely ground away by the tread of many feet. The space to the right shows remains of a well-formed key-fret.

B. The other face is in fairly good condition. Cross and circle have bead borders. The shaft is decorated with the ring-chain, carried up to the head, which displays a novel treatment. Though unfortunately broken, sufficient remains to show that Cumming's tame drawing is wrong; a band starting from the right side passed to the right arm, making an angular bend to fit into the pattern above; it looped round itself in the lower half of the arm, and crossed over to the left one, whence, with a similar loop, it returned as a band from the left side of the ring-chain. Two bands carried vertically to the head, interlaced with the last, to form, no doubt, similar loops in the upper limb, whence they returned to fill in the upper halves of the right and left arms respectively. In each case the pairs of loops are linked together by rings. The cross measured as follows:—shaft, forty-four inches by eight inches; arms, about eight and a half inches by eight inches; the head perhaps ten or ten and a half inches long by the same width. The "circle" has been from two to two and a half inches wide, and from seventeen to eighteen inches in outer diameter, but compressed at the sides to about sixteen inches. The space to the left of the shaft shows twist-and-ring with round pellets between the rings—not the loose plait-of-four figured by Cumming. That to the right bears the inscription in clear, well-cut runes, about four inches long, the lines nearly a quarter of an inch wide, and an eighth of an inch deep.

The second, third, and fourth runes are broken, but the reading is clear—

× þURSTAIN : RAISTI : KRUS : þANO : IFT : UFAAK : SUN : KRINAIS
 THORSTEIN ERECTED THIS CROSS TO THE MEMORY OF OFEIG, SON OF CRINA.

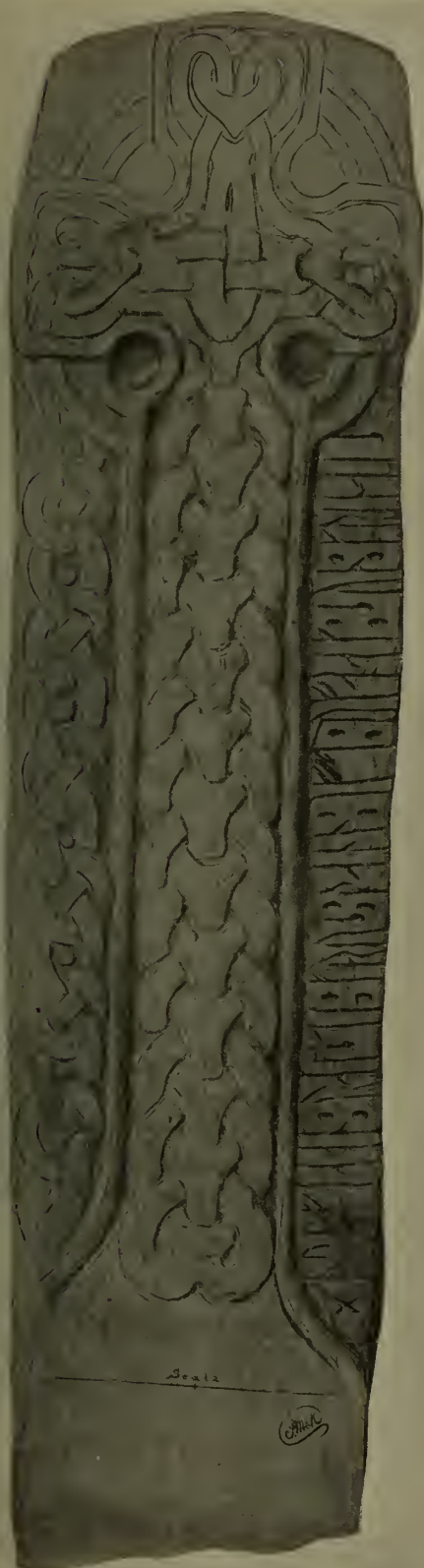
Cumming guessed the first word to be THURKETIL, but Kneale read THURSTEIN. Vigfusson took it to be [MA]LFIAAC. "The L is certain, and there can be little doubt that this reading is correct." But he was mistaken. It is impossible for anyone examining the stone not to trace the first character þ; this is followed by the tops of URS, but as the stroke of the next letter, T, is carried almost to the bottom of the S, and a crack above runs parallel to it, I read this at first as the upper part of an F followed by I. Upon Dr. Brate calling my attention, however, to his reading THURSTAIN, I again very carefully, and in a good light, examined the stone itself, and I feel satisfied that he is right. The next to the last letter has certainly a little flake where the character-stroke for A would be, but it is not defined clearly as in all the other instances. It may have been faintly cut and now worn; but, though not quite certain, I am willing to adopt his suggestion that it was I, as read by both Kneale and Cumming. In the final letter, what I took to be the stroke of K appears to be a break in the stone; and the mark below, which I at first thought was a break, is, I think, the character-stroke of N. The next two words are beyond doubt, though the top of the T is scarcely visible. In the fourth, Cumming reads the last letter as an O, Kneale as an N, and Vigfusson as an A. The upper character-stroke of the þ is very distinct, but the lower one has been faint, and there is a little flake where it has been. It could not in any case have been A. The next word begins with I, not E, as read by Kneale, or A, as by Cumming. The latter also is wrong in reading I for the second A in Ufaak. The stroke is faint, but it is there. The last word was read KLINAIS by Cumming and Kneale, the lower part of the character-stroke of R being faint. Vigfusson read CRINAAS, but the sixth letter appears to have been I, not A.

The carving is an eighth of an inch in relief, the cross half an inch to three-quarters of an inch; circle, a quarter of an inch to three-eighths of an inch.

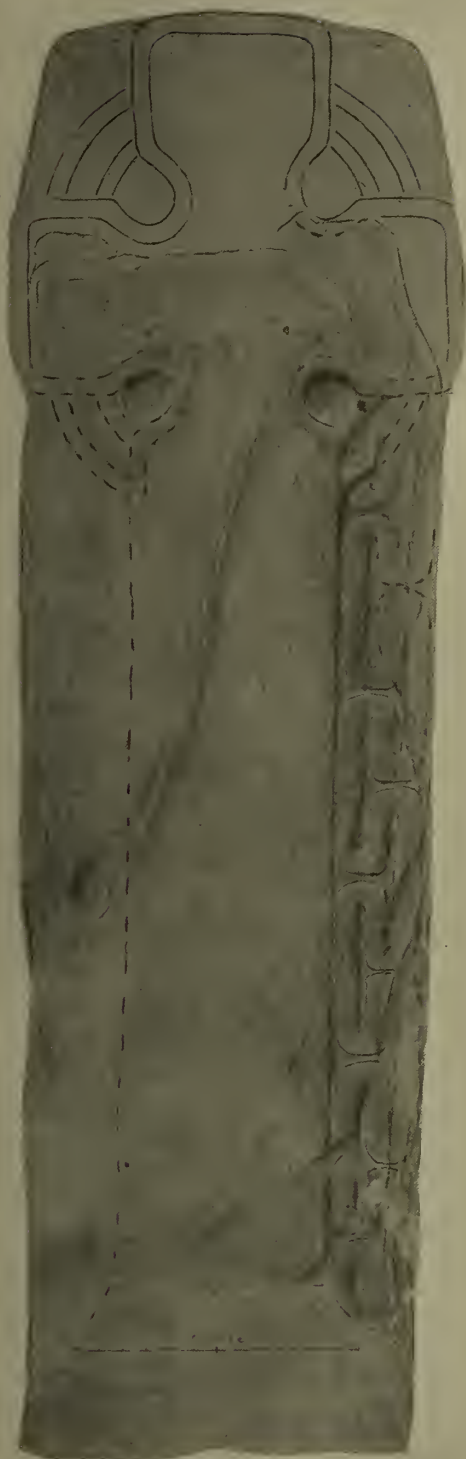
87.—Andreas. Plate xxxix.—At Andreas is a small broken slab, to which my attention was called in 1886 by T. Winter, coachman to Archdeacon Hughes-Games, who had noticed it built as a lintel over a stable window at the Rectory, in which position it must have been for many years. Fortunately, the inscribed edge was exposed, or it would not have been discovered then. On having it taken out, we found it to measure thirty-four inches long by seven inches wide, and three inches thick.

A. One face shows remains of the head and shaft of a cross, the form of which differs from those already described. It has no circle, and the shaft is narrow in proportion to its length. It is badly worn, but there seem to be indications of a pattern on the shaft which may have been ring-chain. On the space to the right there has been interlacing. The proportions of the cross appear to have been:—head, about seven inches long by four and a half inches wide; shaft, twenty-three or twenty-four inches by four inches; the arms about four and a half inches by four inches wide.

B. The other face shows only two of the hollow recesses between the limbs, and the outline of the left arm, and the left edge of the shaft, which has been chipped away by the builder.



86B



86A

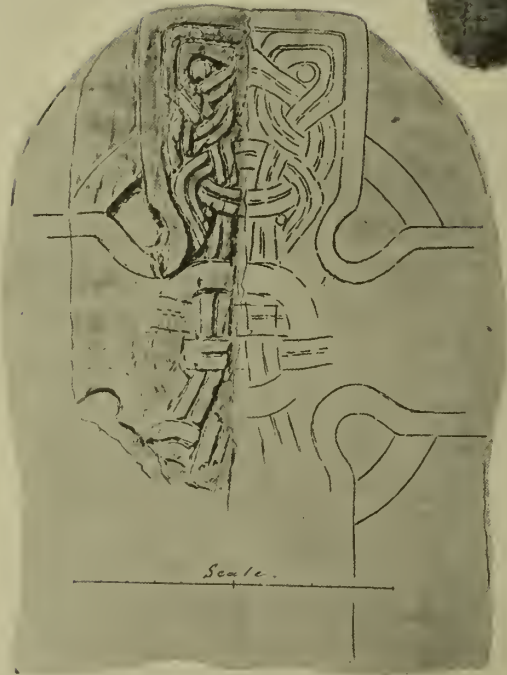
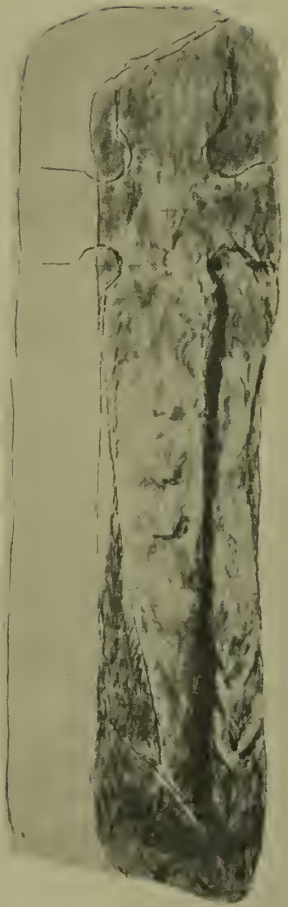
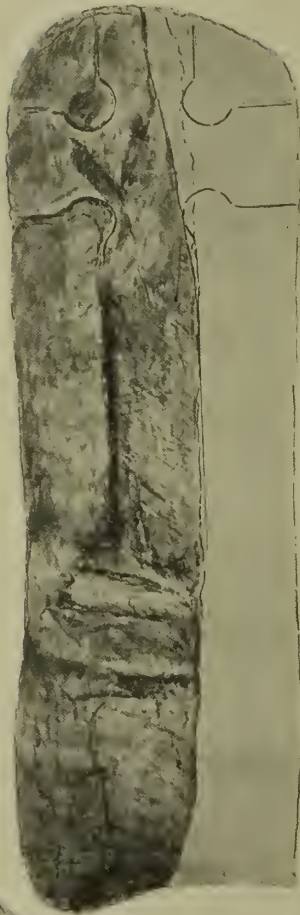
GEOMETRICAL.

(86B, A) Thorstein's Cross, Braddan.

87C

87B

87A



88

GEOMETRICAL.

90

(87C, B, A) Inscribed Slab, Andreas; (88) Fragment from Peel, German; (90) Michael.

C. The remaining edge bore the inscription in runes two inches long, the lines cut a sixteenth of an inch wide and deep. The name has been broken off at the bottom, and about twenty inches of the upper part has been chipped away, thus allowing space for about thirty more runes and word-divisions. Though rather worn, I can read distinctly—

. . R]AISTI : KRUS : þAANA : AFTI[R] . .
 [A.B.] ERECTED THIS CROSS TO THE MEMORY OF [C.D. . .]

The þ of the third word has an unusually large and well-formed bow. I can quite distinctly see the character-strokes in the next two letters, but they are very small and rather faint; and Dr. Brate, who thought them to be too small in comparison with those on the three other letters A, reads þIINA. The last letter of the next word consists of a short stroke, which I took to be the lower half of the stem line of the fourth rune. Dr. Brate, however, has given reasons (under the head of "Inscriptions," p. 78) for considering it as in fact the ancient form of R met with in the Rök inscriptions.

88.—**Peel, German.** Plate xxxix.—In the Guard House at Peel Castle, German, is a fragment found near the Barracks during the excavations and repairs in 1874. It measures eighteen inches long by about eight inches wide, and one and a half inches thick, having evidently been flaked off the face of a large slab.

One face shows remains of a cross and circle of the usual type, the spaces between the limbs pierced through. The ornament has been a loose plait, double-beaded. It is not quite like any other, and being so fragmentary is difficult to re-construct; but it is clear that two bands have come up from the shaft to the head, interlacing with two others, and, I think, with a ring in the centre. The upper bands appear to have looped round an interlaced ring, pointed at the top, and then come to a dead end. Below, it looks as if there had been another ring. What remains of pattern below the central ring is difficult to understand. It almost looks as if the shaft had come down at an angle with the head, and not as in my attempted restoration. If the circle connecting the limbs was an approximately true one, as I judge from the only segment that remains, its outer diameter must have been about sixteen inches. The head is twelve inches long, and the arms would probably be at least eight inches. If the proportions were as in the next, to which it bears a strong resemblance—that is to say, the total length of the cross two and a quarter or two and a half times the width of the arms—the cross itself must have been thirty-six or forty inches long, the whole slab perhaps fifty-six inches by about twenty inches.

The carving is from one-eighth to three-sixteenths of an inch in relief, and has been worked with a square punch.

89.—**Michael.** Plate xl.—Kinnebrook, 2. Cumming, 19a, b.

In the porch at Kirk Michael is a handsome slab with the top of the head rounded and the spaces between the cross and circle pierced; the stone tapers to the foot. In Kinnebrook's time, 1841, it was near Bishop Wilson's tomb at the north of the churchyard, where also Cumming found it in 1857.

It measures fifty-four and a half inches long by twenty-two inches wide, tapering to fourteen and a half inches at the end of the decoration on face B, about twelve inches from the bottom, below which point it is broken; it is two and a half inches thick.

A. One face shows on the cross an elaborate interlacing, taking the form of a plait-of-seven on the upper part of the shaft, and about half-way down breaking into a loose irregular plait, well balanced but not symmetrical, the bands looping and splitting in a manner not met with in Celtic work. At the bottom they split off to join the bead-moulding round the crosses. The spaces in this lower part are filled in with small round pellets. The segments of the circle connecting the limbs, which is a true one, contain plaits-of-four within borders of plain moulding. At either side of the shaft is a dragon-headed figure, with prolonged top-knots splitting and interlacing round the body. Each dragon-figure has one hind foot and a tail which forms with another band a figure-of-eight knot. On the left side this latter band has one end terminating in an arrow-tipped point; on the right it forms another knot.

The treatment of the head is peculiar, but evidently suggested by Gaut's work. Three bands pass upwards through a central ring in the upper limb. The upper limb is flaked away, but if the bands passed regularly over and under, as appears in the little that remains, the two outer ones would loop outwards to connect with the third in the middle, the whole interlacing with a pointed ring. Across the arms two outer bands fold back at the ends to connect in the usual V-shaped loop, and are interlaced with an oval ring; the points of these V-shaped loops being connected by a third band carried across in the middle. All the bands are double-beaded, and the broader dragon-figures bordered by incised lines.

The proportions of the cross are as follows:—head (broken), probably ten inches long and from eight to eight and a half inches wide at the top; shaft, thirty-nine and a half inches by eight and a quarter expanding to twelve inches at the foot; arms, ten and a half inches by eight and a quarter to eight and a half inches; the circle, three and a half inches wide, is twenty and a half inches in outer diameter; the carving is from an eighth to a quarter of an inch in relief; the circle, from half an inch to five-eighths of an inch; the cross, three-quarters of an inch.

B. This face shows a cross of similar design, in unusually high relief. The shaft has on the upper half a close plait-of-seven; from this three bands are brought down. The two outer ones, expanding rapidly, cross and pass with only one bend to the bottom of the shaft; the third, keeping an even width, forms large, open coils looping round the others and ending in the border moulding of the shaft on the right, which has been cut into by the pattern to allow of a fuller curve; a small space to the left has had to be filled in by a separate band in a knotted loop, and the other spaces are filled in with large pellets. The treatment of the head again differs. Two bands are carried upwards through two concentric rings—that on the right turning to the upper part of the left arm and crossing to the lower corner, where it splits, one portion winding round to the upper corner, then crossing downwards and passing through the central rings to form the right-hand band entering the upper limb; the other portion loops round interlacing with the other bands, and terminates in the neck of the limb. The appearance of the other limbs is similar, but each differs in detail. In the right arm the two entering bands cross and pass to the upper and lower corners, where each splits, sending one offshoot to pass direct from the lower side of the lower corner to join the other in the centre of the upper one; the other offshoot thrown out to form a larger loop interlacing with the other bands, and joining up at the corner.

PLATE XL.



S9B



S9A

ZOOMORPHIC.

(S9B, A) Michael, Scale about $\frac{1}{2}$.



In the same way two bands are carried into the upper limb, the right-hand one passing direct to the lower part of the left corner, the left-hand one crossing to the middle of the other side, then passing to the upper part of the left corner; an offshoot from between these loops round, interlacing with the others, to fill in the corner on the right, then crossing to end in the lower left-hand corner.

The circle, like the cross, is bordered by a plain bead. The two right segments contain plait-of-five; the left lower one a plait-of-four; the left upper is broken off. The spaces at either side of the shaft have dragon-figures, each with a single hind leg, top-knots, and tails, which make figure-of-eight knots with other bands which are carried to the foot of the shaft, with barbed ends. The dragons have formidable canine teeth, and pear-shaped eyes pointing towards the snout. In Celtic art the eyes are round, or, if more or less pear-shaped, have the butt forwards. Except in segments of the circle, the central rings, and the offshoots interlacing in the arms, which are plain, all the bands are double-beaded, and the dragons and broader parts of the bands bordered.

The proportions of the cross are:—head (broken), probably eleven and a half inches long by about seven expanding to eight inches wide; shaft, thirty-six inches by seven and a half inches, expanding to probably thirteen inches at the bottom, which is broken; arms, about ten and a half inches by six and three-quarter inches, expanding to eight inches, that on the right, however, being a quarter of an inch wider. The circle, three and a quarter inches wide, measures twenty-one and a half inches outer diameter. The carving is in the same relief as on the other face, but the circle stands out from five-eighths to seven-eighths of an inch, and the cross an inch.

I cannot agree with Cumming that "there are several blunders which indicate that this was made by an inferior hand, as a copy in design from some previously existing model." I consider, on the contrary, that it shows great originality, that both faces are beautifully designed, well worked, and highly finished.

90.—**Michael.** Plate xxxix.—Kinnebrook, 25. Cumming, 6.

This fragment, now in Castle Rushen, came from Mr. Wallace's collection, and was in his museum at Douglas when figured by Kinnebrook, but at Distington in Cumming's time. Mr. Wallace told me that it had been given to him by the Vicar, Mr. Nelson, about 1840, but he had forgotten the parish. The Rev. D. Nelson was Curate-in-Charge of Kirk Michael at that time, and the whole appearance of the stone so closely resembles the last that it must almost certainly be by the same hand, and, therefore, the more likely to have come from Michael. It measures only fifteen and a half inches by nine inches, and about three inches thick.

One face shows a dragon-head precisely as on the last, and apparently in the same position, but larger. There has been an elaborate plait forming the circle connecting the limbs, which is without borders, unless indeed we can imagine the circle to have been above this plait, which seems unlikely. What remains of it shows the bands to have been almost vertical and horizontal instead of diagonal, as usual. The space between the plait and the dragon is filled in with buckle ornament and pellets, both characteristic of Scandinavian work. All the bands are double-beaded. It must have been a large and very handsome piece. The carving is from an eighth to a quarter of an inch, executed with a punch.

91.—**Maughold.** Plate xli.—Cumming, *Archæol. Camb.*, 1865; and *Manx Soc.*, vol. xv., p. 16, figs. 2, 3.

In this small piece from Maughold, with slight zoomorphism in the plait-work, we evidently have the work of a new hand. It was first described by Cumming, having been found during alterations and repairs between 1857 and 1865, in the west gable bell-turret. His figure is imperfect, and misleading in detail. It is a round-headed slab, measuring twenty-one inches by nine inches and three inches thick.

A. One face bears an equal-limbed cross upon a flat circle of which the outer bead moulding surrounds and contains the limbs. Below the circle the edges are chamfered—a novel treatment, adding much to the lightness of its appearance, and leaving a broad band, which serves as shaft to the cross. This shaft shows the ring-chain pattern engraved, not carved in relief, bordered by fine lines. In the centre of the cross is an incised ring; in the square end of each limb an irregular plait, double-beaded, with curious little flourishes, excepting in the lower limb, to fill in the spaces. The circle connecting the limbs, a true one, contains plaits-of-three and of four, double-beaded, two of them ending in heads of serpents, with sharply-pointed snouts and round eyes. There is not the least trace of pattern between the central ring and the neck of the limbs, as figured by Cumming, but there appears to have been some knot-work above the head.

The limbs of the cross measure four and three-quarter inches long; the upper and lower limbs two and three-quarter inches wide, expanding to three and a quarter inches at the outer end; the arms two and a half inches wide. The added shaft is broken at eight inches in length, and is from four and three-quarter to five and three-quarter inches wide, or an inch less if we do not include the border. The circle, one and three-quarter inches wide, has an outer diameter of about ten inches. The carving is a sixteenth of an inch in relief, the hollow recesses between the limbs from a quarter to three-eighths of an inch. The cross itself stands out from three-eighths to half an inch, reduced to nothing at the ends of the limbs.

B. The other face bears also an equal-limbed cross, but the added shaft stands out in relief, and is bordered by a cable-moulding. It is ornamented with a plait-of-eight, not of six, as in Cumming's figure. In the limbs are detached plaits in panels, as on the first face. The limbs in this case overlap and project beyond the circle, which is decorated with a well-drawn step-pattern. There is a central incised ring as on the other face, and the cross and circle have been bordered by a fine line which becomes a bead moulding round the square ends of the limbs. Cumming says there are traces of an inscription on the edge, but this is certainly a mistake.

The measurements are as follows: limbs of the cross, four and three-quarter inches long; head, two and three-quarter inches wide, expanding at the top by about an eighth of an inch; arms, two and a half expanding to two and three-quarter inches; lower limb, three to three and a quarter inches. The shaft is eight and a quarter inches long by three inches wide at the top to four inches at the bottom. The circle is one and a quarter inches wide, and eight and a half inches in outer diameter. The carving on this face is an eighth of an inch in relief; the cross, just below the circle, five-eighths of an inch reduced to nothing at the bottom, the arms and upper limb to half an inch. The circle stands out a quarter of an inch, the recesses being from half an inch to five-eighths of an inch deep.



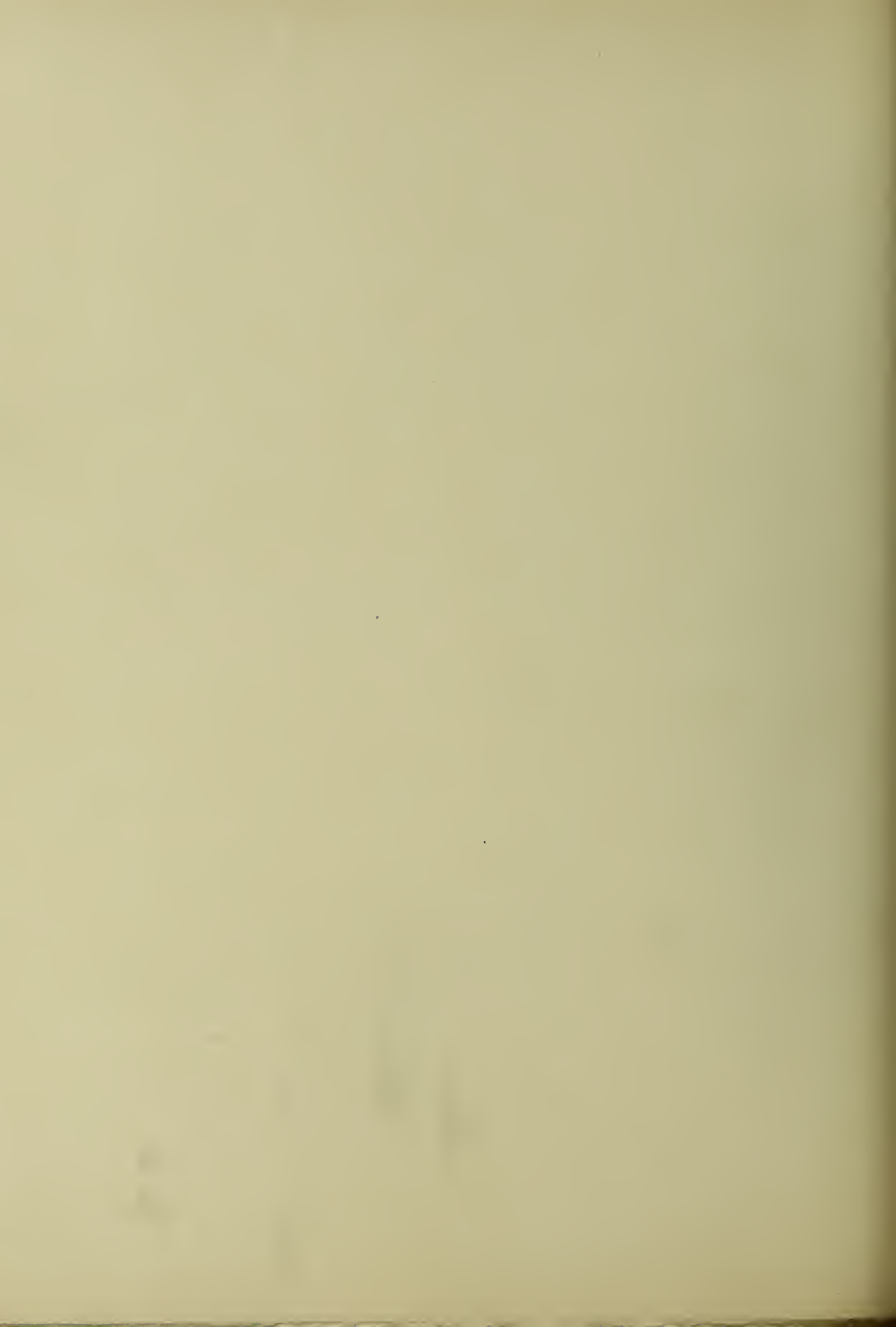
91A



91B

ZOOMORPHIC.

(91A, B) Maughold, Scale between $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$.



92.—Bride. Plate xlii.—A broken slab at Bride Parish Church was brought to light when the present building was erected and the remains of the old one levelled, about 1869. The top has been broken off, and the edges are much worn. It now measures forty-four inches by fourteen and a half inches, tapering slightly to the foot, and from one to two inches thick.

A. One face shows the greater part of the shaft of a cross, from six and a half to seven and a half inches broad, decorated with plait-of-five, the odd band ending on the left side. The space to the left has the double twist-and-ring design, the diamond-shaped rings double-beaded. There is some irregularity in the drawing, the left-hand band coming down through the upper ring ends against the right-hand band, and a fresh one is made to start from below the right of the ring. Above this ring the pattern breaks into a plain key-fret. The space to the right appears to have above the hind feet of some beast. Below is an elaborate knot formed from the link-twist; below this the figure of an animal, with pointed head, crested, four legs and a straight, thick tail. Below is more link knot-work, now almost obliterated. The carving is an eighth of an inch in relief; the cross stands out three-eighths of an inch.

B. This face shows also the shaft of a cross bordered by a plain bead. It is six and a half inches wide, expanding to seven and a quarter inches, and decorated with ring-chain, double-beaded; that to the left a further development of the link-twist (see *ante*, p. 43, fig. 28, and p. 44), consisting of two bands converging and diverging, connected at even distances by double links thrown out from above and below; the spaces between the offshoots are filled in with small pellets, and the effect is somewhat marred by side flourishes. The carving on this face is from an eighth to a quarter of an inch in relief.

C. The inscription runs up the edge of the stone, and the tops of some of the characters are worn away. The runes, about two inches long, are an eighth of an inch wide and deep.

TRUIAN : SUR[T]UFKALS : RAISTI KRS þINA : AF[T]AþMIU[L] : KUNU SIN[A]

DRUIAN, SON OF DUGALD, RAISED THIS CROSS TO THE MEMORY OF ATHMAOIL, HIS WIFE.

As the head of the cross on each face is broken off, the stone must originally have been from about fourteen to twenty inches longer, and the inscription may have been continued to give the name of the wife's father, as in the case of the Mal Lumkun cross, Michael 104; or it may have named the sculptor or rune-cutter. The name Truian, as pointed out in my *Catalogue of Manx Crosses*, is preserved in that of a Quarterland adjoining the church, still known as Glentruan.¹ Vigfusson, who read the name of the wife as CATHMIUL, gives this note in his article on the Manx Inscriptions, *Manx Note Book*, January, 1887, p. 22:—"Cionaidh Ua Cathmhaoil, gen. masc. (Four Masters, 967.) Mac Cathmhaoil (Anglicized, Mac Cowell) is very numerous in Four Masters." The Ulster Annals give the word as a place-name in referring to a battle in the year 741:—Drum Cathmail. This Skene² connects with Dungayle, which he thinks is probably a corruption from *Dun G-cathmhail*, the aspirated consonants being quiescent. In my *Catalogue* I accepted this reading, as there appeared

¹ Megg Droian appears in the Ogam Inscriptions, Shetland—see Brash's *Ogams*, p. 356.

² *Celtic Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 291, footnote.

to be room for the character-stroke of the K, and I thought that I could detect indications of those of M and L. But a difficulty arises in connection with the preceding word, AF, which is unheard of as a contraction for *eftir*, as stated before in dealing with Gaut's inscription, Andreas 73 (p. 148). Now the space between the F and the stem-line of the following rune is greater than between that and the A by which it is followed, but that might in part be due to the character-stroke of the F. The word-divisions do not help us, as in this inscription they are applied not to divide the words, but much as we should use commas in distinguishing the different parts of a sentence. I therefore adopt Dr. Brate's reading for the same reason as I do in the case of Andreas 73—namely, on account of the difficulty otherwise in regard to the previous word.

The form of the second word SUR is peculiar as a contraction for SUNR not previously met with, but there can be no doubt that *sunr* is the pronunciation aimed at by the writing SUR. The reading of the next word is clear, though the character-stroke of the T is worn away. The following word also is clear, and it is followed by KRS, of which Vigfusson took the S to be the dot of the word-division with a line lightly scratched above it subsequently. It differs in character, however, from the other divisional dots, and if so intended there would have been two of them. It looks more as though the carver had at first omitted the S, perhaps for want of space, and had afterwards thought better to add it.

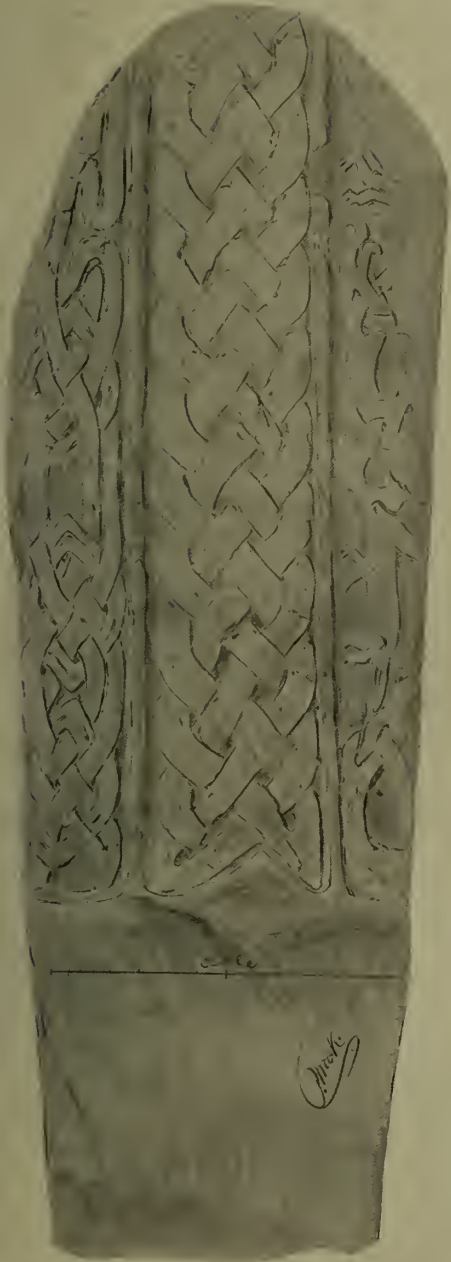
THE NORSE MYTHOLOGY

A matter of very special interest in regard to our Manx Scandinavian monuments is that several of them give illustrations of scenes and events from the Norse Mythology as told in the Elder Edda and in the Sagas.

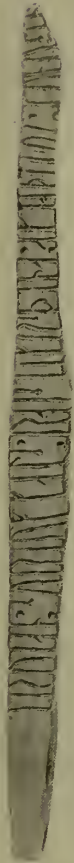
In the first place, four stones in different parts of the Island—namely, Jurby, Andreas, Maughold (Ramsey), and Malew—figure various scenes from the life and adventures of Sigurd Fafni's Bane, the greatest of the Norse heroes, and favourite in story in Viking times. Before describing these in detail, it may be interesting to any of my readers to whom the subject is not familiar if I summarize briefly those portions of the legend which are here illustrated.¹

It is told how King Sigmund was slain in battle, Odin himself having interposed and broken the sword Gram (the Wrath), which he had formerly given to him. At night came Hjordis, his wife, seeking for him, whom he directed to take the fragments of the sword, and to keep them for the son she should bear him, who would become the greatest of his race. At the day-dawning he died, and Hjordis was carried off by Alf, son of Hjalpreck, King of Denmark, who was sailing with his power along the land. After the birth of her son Sigurd, Hjordis was married to Alf, and Sigurd was brought up in King Hjalprek's house, fostered by Regin, the clever Dwarf-smith, by whom he was taught all manner of arts, the chess-play, the lore of runes, and the talking of many tongues, even as the wont was with king's sons in those days. At his instigation, Sigurd, upon coming to manhood,

¹ This beautiful story has been handed down in various Sagas—*e.g.*, "The old Play of the Wolsungs"; "The old Lay of Atli"; "The Western Wolsung-Lay"; "The Lay of Gripi"; "The long Lay of Brunhild"; "Gudrun's Lays," translated by E. Magnússon and W. Morris, published by Walter Scott, 1888; "The Greenland Lay of Atli," etc., *Corp. Bor.*, vol. i.; see also, "The Story of Sigurd the Volsung, and the Fall of the Niblungs," by William Morris.



92A



92C



92B

ZOOMORPHIC.

(92A, C, B) Truian Cross, Bride.



asked a horse of the king, who allowed him to choose one from his stud, and, by the direct advice of Odin, he chose Gráni, "the grey one," of the kin of Sleipner, the eight-footed steed of Odin.

But Regin kept egging him on to some great deed, and especially that he should go in quest of the dragon Fafni's gold-hoard, and thereto he told him this tale:—"Hreidmar had three sons, Fafni, Otter, and Regin himself. Otter was a great fisher, and in the likeness of an otter dwelt ever in the river; but Fafni was by far the greatest and grimmest. Otter was wont to fish in Andwari's force, and, on a day, Odin, Loki, and Hænir, passing by, spied him slumbering on the river bank. Loki cast a stone and killed him, and the gods, well pleased, took the skin to Hreidmar's house. He laid hands on them, and doomed them for weregild to fill and cover the otter's skin with gold. So they sent Loki, and he came to Ran, goddess of the sea, and got her net and went to the force and caught Andwari in the form of a pike. He compelled him to give up his gold, and when he had but one ring left, that also Loki took from him; then the Dwarf banned the Ring and all the gold, which should ever prove the bane of its possessor. Now, when the gods had filled and covered the otter's skin with gold, Hreidmar, the covetous, espied one of the muzzle hairs, and bade them cover that. Then Odin drew the Ring and covered up the hair, Loki warning them of the curse. Thereafter, Fafni slew his father, seized the gold, and became the worst of all worms."

Then Sigurd got from his mother the shards of his father's sword, and Regin forged therewith a sword so finely tempered that it would cut through floating wool and cleave an anvil in twain.

When he had avenged his father's death and gained wealth and honour, Sigurd went with Regin to slay the dragon. Odin met him in disguise on Gnitah Heath, and advised him to dig "many pits and let the blood run therein; but sit thee down in one thereof, and so thrust the worm's heart through." And, as Fafni trailed over the pits, Sigurd thrust his sword into him and slew him. So Fafni handed on the curse and died. Regin had concealed himself under a heather-bush, but now called upon Sigurd to cut out the dragon's heart, roast it over the fire, and give him to eat. So Sigurd made a fire and roasted the heart on a rod, and trying if it were fully done, he burnt his fingers and put them into his mouth to cool; but when the heart's blood of the dragon touched his tongue he straightway knew and understood the voice of all fowls. And the birds had gathered around and were talking of him. They told of the guile of Regin, who was minded to slay him and to carry off the booty, and advised that Sigurd should smite off his head. So Sigurd's wrath was kindled, and he struck off Regin's head. Then he ate of the dragon's heart, gathered up the hoard, and loaded his steed, which, however, would not move till he leaped into the saddle. And so they rode to Hindfell and through the Ring of Fire to find and awaken Brynhild.

Later, we are told how Sigurd was treacherously done to death by Gunnar and others, his own foster-brothers, and how the curse still followed the gold, for Gunnar was beguiled by Atli, who cast him into a serpents' den, his hands bound behind him. But Gudrun, his sister, threw in a harp, whereon he smote with his toes, and so well he played, that the serpents all fell asleep, save one, which bit him to the heart, and he died.

MANX CROSSES

Scenes from this favourite story are figured on wood and stone in Scandinavia, and in the North of England a few examples have been found. Upon stone, the most noted



FIG. 53.—RAMSUND STONE, SWEDEN.

are the rock-tracings at Ramsund and Goek, on the southern shore of Lake Mälär,¹ Södermanland, Sweden, discovered by Prof. Carl Säve, who remarks of the former that the Sigurd, or Holmger, of the inscription believed that they were descended from Sigurd Fafni's Bane.

This shows the otter's skin; smith's tools; a figure which, though this is not unanimously agreed upon, has rightly, I think, been taken for Sigurd roasting the dragon's heart on a wand over flames of fire, and cooling his thumb in his mouth; the steed Gráni tethered to the tree on which are the talking birds; and the dwarf with his head cut off. Below, we see

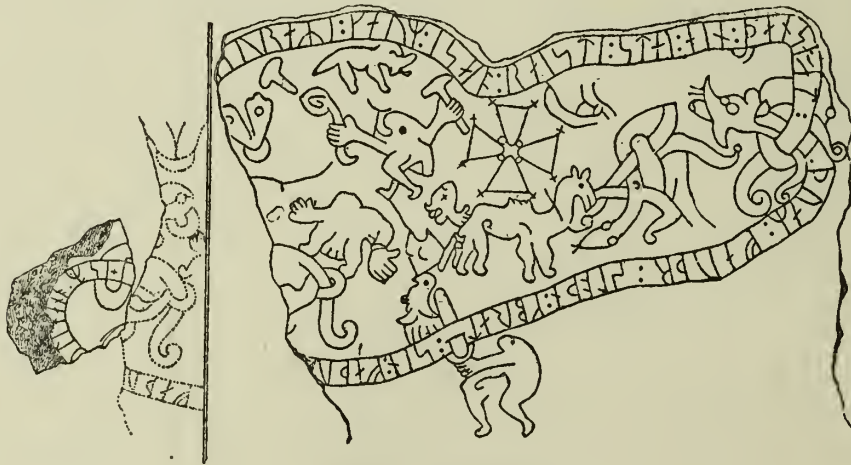


FIG. 54.—GOEK STONE.

Sigurd piercing the dragon's body, upon which is cut the inscription. The tracing on the Goek stone is smaller, and looks as though suggested by the former.² Prof. Stephens, *Studies*

¹ The Andreas stone in the Isle of Man is not far from an ancient lake, now drained, of the same name, now pronounced Lough Mollow. Mr. Moore (*Place-Names*, p. 286) derives the word from Möl (gen., malar), pebbles.

² Sigurds-ristningarna å Ramsundsberget och Göks-stennen.

on *Northern Mythology*, p. (85) 373, considers that both of these are "early Christian from the beginning of the eleventh age, and were so carved because the deceased claimed descent from Sigurd." At p. (84) 372 he refers to a "Swedish funeral stone from Dräfle in Upland, upon which is sculptured Sigurd slaying Fafni, the dragon." But, for the first time in Europe, it shows us also Andwari the dwarf reaching forth his only remaining golden jewel, the fatal ring with which the Ases covered the last hair of the death-struck Otter. "This piece," he adds, "is from the first Christian age, is incised with the later Runes, and must date from about 1000 to 1050." On a font from Norum, Bohuslän, Sweden, is a figure of Gunnar in the worm-pit, his hands tied in front, his harp under his feet. (Du Chaillu, *The Viking Age*, i., p. 186.)

On a cross shaft at Halton, in Lancashire, we find on one side the forging of the sword, Regin with his head cut off, Sigurd roasting the dragon's heart, and the talking-birds with the conventional tree; on the other face, the steed Gráni and some dragon-like figures, perhaps intended to suggest the worm-pit.¹

Several examples in wood have been met with in Norway. At Gaulstad, Jarlsberg, a church door-pillar shows, in five circular panels, Sigurd with a shield, the otter-skin covered with gold and the ring, Regin at his forge, the dragon, and Sigurd in the act of slaying it.² Another door-pillar, now in Christiana Museum, from Hyllestad, Setersdal, supposed to date from 1150, shows in panels the forging of the sword, the testing of it by Sigurd, and Sigurd with sword and shield piercing the body of the dragon. A second pillar shows at the bottom Sigurd roasting Fafni's heart—represented, as on our Andreas piece, by three rings—on a wand over flames of fire, the tree and the talking birds, the steed Gráni, Sigurd slaying Regin, and Gunnar playing on his harp in the serpents' pit.³ (See p. 175, fig. 56.) A church door at Vigusdal, Robygdalag, dated about the beginning of the thirteenth century, shows Sigurd roasting Fafni's heart, the tree and talking birds, the testing and forging of the sword, the steed Gráni, and the slaying of Regin. On the other side of the portal Gráni appears again, and Dr. March thinks he recognizes in the elaborate interlacing Fafni slain and dismembered. This, Nicholayson places at the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁴ At Osstad Church, Setersdal, are figures of Gunnar bound in the snake-pit, a man showing him the heart of his brother Högni, and the trembling heart of the thrall Hialli and the cutting out of Högni's heart.⁵ In the centre of one of the door



FIG. 55.—SIGURD STONE,
HALTON.

¹ Dr. H. C. March in *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, vol. ix. Also *Early Sculptured Crosses, etc., in the Diocese of Carlisle* (Rev. W. S. Calverley), p. 186.

² *Norske Fortidmindesmerkere Bevaring*, 1855, part vii.

³ *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1870, part xiv.

⁴ *Norske Forleavinge*, p. 252.

⁵ Du Chaillu, *The Viking Age*, vol. ii., p. 244.

jamb at Opsdal Church, Numedal, we see Gunnar in the serpents' den, his hands bound behind his back, at his feet his harp.¹ Du Chaillu also figures, pp. 256, 257, two carved chairs from Hitterdal Church, Thelemarken—on the one is figured Gudrun confiding to the messengers of Atli a ring warning Gunnar and Högni of their danger; on the other is Gunnar in the pit, his wrists bound, his harp at his feet. A church-door at Versos, Vester-götland, Sweden, shows Sigurd slaying the dragon; below, the talking birds.² We now find these and other scenes depicted on four of our Manx stones, which show some originality in treatment—evidence that our artists were not copying from former carvings, but presenting original illustrations of stories with which they were very familiar.

93.—Jurby. Plate xliii.—For many years this large cross-slab has been standing behind the wooden gatepost of a field adjoining the churchyard of Jurby, where, I have heard, it was placed for safety by the late Mr. Farrant, of Ballamooar. The tenant, Mr. Cannell, remembers seeing it there for thirty years. One face being hidden by a wall, and the other by the post, it was only by catching sight of the carved edge that I was led to examine it. About 1890 I had a cast taken, and in December, 1906, was allowed to remove and place it within the churchyard.

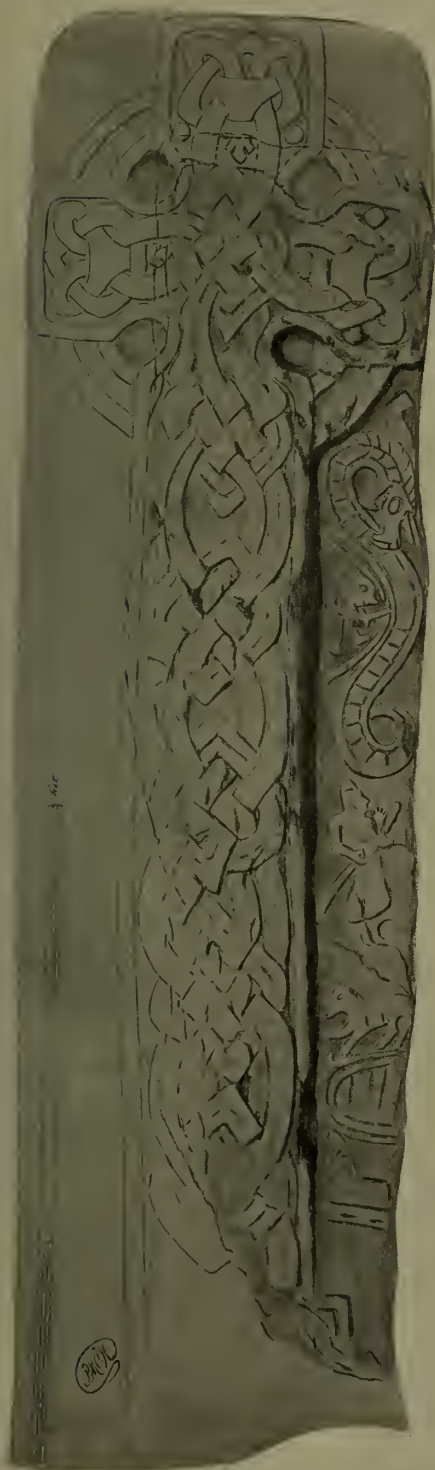
The total length of the slab is eighty-four inches; width, twelve to twenty inches; thickness, six and a half inches. From nine to twelve inches has been flaked off the top, and about as much from the decoration below, and probably there would be about eighteen inches uncarved at the bottom, so that the original height must have been about ten feet, while the width could not have been less than twenty-two inches. Each face has borne a shafted cross and circle of the usual type. The decoration is more ambitious than any of the preceding, but the execution is careless, and the figure-drawing not good.

A. This face is much worn, but shows the left arm of the cross and two segments of a circle, above which is the figure of a cock. Cross and circle have had a plain bead border. It is unfortunate that the head is broken; the left arm seems to show ring-chain pattern as though it had extended across. The shaft is completely flaked away, and all that now remains is the lower portion of the space to the left, which shows plain tendril-pattern.

B. The cross and circle on this face have also a plain bead border; the shaft bears plait-and-ring pattern, double-beaded. Some carelessness is shown in the carving; thus, in the first or uppermost ring in the shaft, the lower band comes to a sudden end against the inside of the ring, while the upper band is split and carried on as two separate bands. The two lower bands have merged into the third ring, so that two fresh ones have to start from nothing. The treatment of the head differs from Gaut's in that the two bands passing upwards from the shaft cross at the centre within a diamond-shaped ring, and pass to the right and left arms, where they turn back and fold over to unite with similar bands from the upper limb in a V-shaped loop interlaced with a triangular ring. The space to the left of the shaft has been broken away; that to the right shows Sigurd slaying the

¹ *The Viking Age*, vol. ii., p. 266. *Norske Bygningen fra Fortiden*, part iii.

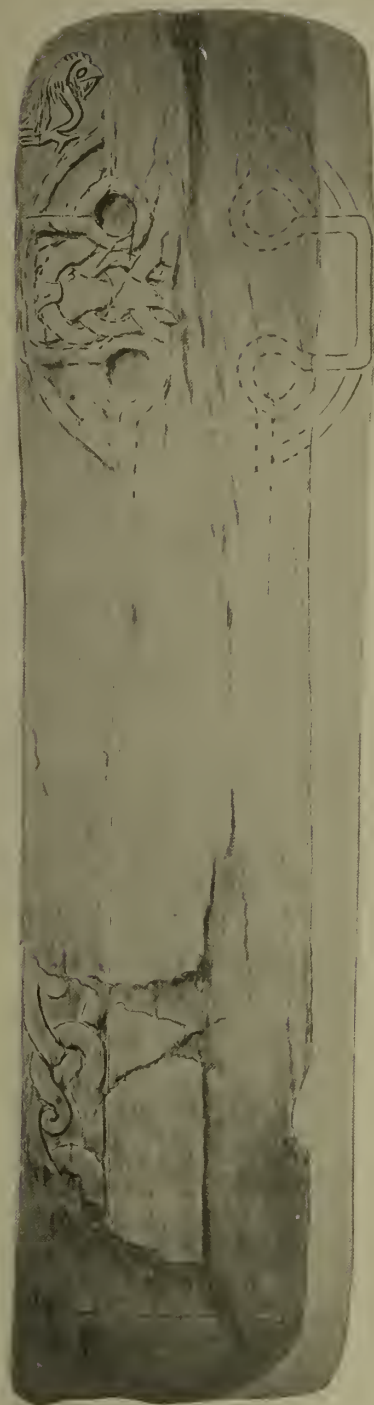
² *The Viking Age*, vol. ii., p. 248.



93A



93C



93B

FIGURE SUBJECT.

(93A, C, B) Sigurd Cross-slab, Jurby.



dragon, and I was the more pleased to discover this since it explained the carving hitherto taken for irregular interlacing on the Malew slab.

Immediately below the circle has been a geometrical figure—perhaps two diagonal rings interlaced. Below is a well-formed dragon in graceful undulations, “snorting venom” and lashing out in the agony of death as he turns to discover his destroyer and heap maledictions on his head. The scales are represented in a novel manner by scores across the body between fine line borders. Sigurd is concealed in the pit, an original bit of treatment not hitherto met with. Owing to the exigencies of space at the artist’s command, the pit takes the form of a mound, but the main idea is distinct—the opening at the mouth, across which the dragon’s huge body is trailing, while Sigurd with his sword concealed within has given him his death-blow.

Below we have another figure of Sigurd, with conical cap and loose coat reaching to his knees, in one hand a wand with the dragon’s heart on it, now almost worn away; his other hand is held with the thumb to his mouth to cool his fingers after having scalded them with the hot, bubbling blood of the roasted heart. Below this is the steed Gráni, ready to carry off the gold-hoard; below, a conventional representation of the tree, on the right or upper side of which is a single leaf, on the other side one of the talking birds. If we did not know what to expect, we should scarcely take this for a tree, yet if we compare it with the Halton cross—upper panel of the east face—we see the idea of the bending boughs and of the foliage.¹ The rest of this space is broken off. There is some



FIG. 56.—DOOR PILLARS OF HYLLESTAD, SETERSDAL.

¹ See p. 173.

indication of a geometrical figure which probably completed the decoration. One edge has been chipped off, the other shows remains of key-pattern.

The proportions of the cross are as follows:—Head, broken, probably fourteen inches by about nine and a half inches; shaft, over sixty inches by nine and a half to ten and a half inches; arms, eleven and a half inches by nine and a half inches.

The carving has been from an eighth of an inch to three-sixteenths of an inch in relief; circle, five-eighths of an inch; while the cross stands out from one and an eighth to two inches.

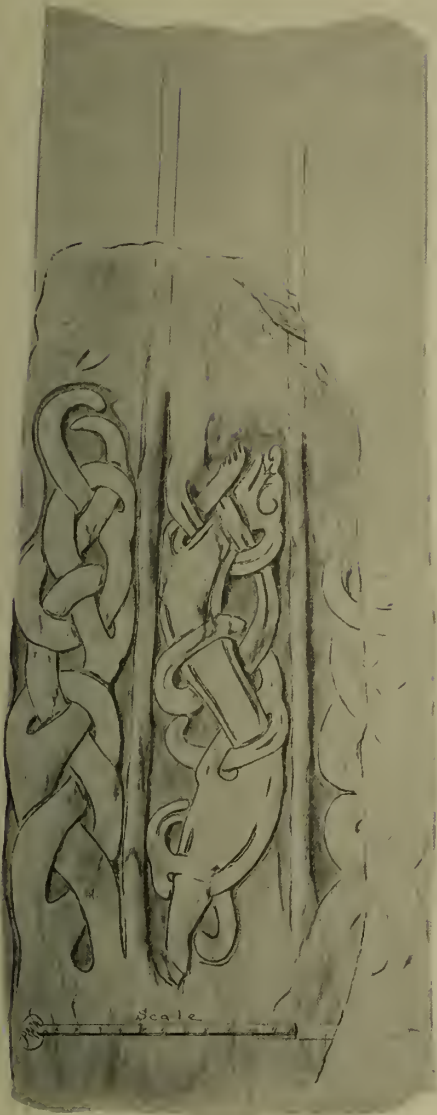
94.—Malew. Plate xliv.—Cumming, 15.

A broken slab was discovered by Cumming lying on the ground in a corner of the churchyard at Malew. He took it to King William's College, but subsequently it was returned, and is now set up within the church. It measures sixty inches (probably about twenty inches have been broken off the top) by eighteen inches (originally about twenty-one inches) wide, and from two to three inches thick. Each face shows the broken shaft of a cross.

A. The head is lost, but this face shows the spring of the circle which connected the limbs. The shaft, which must have been at least sixty inches long, and is from six and a half to seven inches wide, bears a varied and pleasing interlacement, in which we see the link-twist of three or more forms combined with figure-of-eight plait. The space to the right has in a panel below the circle a figure of Sigurd with high cap and kirtle, as on the Jurby stone 93, but in this case his sword is seen at his side. In his right hand he holds a wand, on which is the dragon's heart roasting over the fire, the flames being represented by three pointed figures; his left is held to his mouth. Above is the design of interlaced diagonal rings. A broad band separates this panel from the next. In the lower panel is the figure which hitherto has been taken for an irregular piece of interlacing, even Professor (now Bishop) Browne not having recognized its true character. With the Jurby piece before us, however, we see at once that it is meant for Sigurd concealed in the pit, piercing the passing dragon with his sword. The drawing looks like a weak imitation of that on the Jurby stone, the dragon's head in particular being very feeble. No scales are shown, and it has the addition of some flourishes of interlaced work.

The space to the left has, above, the remains of Sigurd's steed Gráni, the drawing of which reminds one of the Halton stone, but its face is turned the other way. Though Sigurd and the dragon are so feeble as compared with the last, this is greatly superior to the figure of the horse on the Jurby stone; so, also, the interlacing on the shaft is finer both in design and execution. Below, separated by a broad band, has been some design in another panel, which has had a border of cable-moulding, and below that another panel.

B. The other face has on the shaft a piece of zoomorphic interlacing, possibly intended for another figure of Fafni, but utterly different in character from that on the first face or on the Jurby stone. Evidently it is a dragon of some sort, as may be seen by comparison with those on the shaft of the Andreas cross, 95. The space to the left has an irregular loop-form of interlacing differing from any we have yet considered, and showing more direct Scandinavian influence; that to the right has also borne a loose,



94B



94A

FIGURE SUBJECTS.
(94B, A) Sigurd Slab, Malew.





95A



95B

FIGURE SUBJECTS.
(95A, B) Sigurd Slab, Andreas.

irregular interlacing, of which only a narrow strip remains. The remaining edge is unornamented.

The carving is from a sixteenth to an eighth of an inch in relief; the cross three-sixteenths of an inch.

95.—Andreas. Plate xlv.—I first noticed this fragment in 1885, serving for a headstone to a modern grave about ten yards from the north entrance to Andreas churchyard. At that time it was not recognized that illustrations from the Norse mythology occurred on Christian monuments. I had the stone photographed, and sent copies, among others, to Mr. J. Romilly Allen and to Professor G. F. Browne, now Bishop of Bristol. The latter had just returned from studying the Sigurd wood-carvings in Norway. They both recognized the subject here, and Mr. Allen figured and described the stone in a paper "On the Early Christian Monuments of the Isle of Man," read before the British Archæological Association in January, 1887. Mr. Black also described it in the *Proceedings of the Soc. Ant. Scot.*, June, 1887, pp. 325-8.

The stone now measures twenty-seven inches by sixteen inches, and three inches thick. It must originally have been at least forty-eight inches long and twenty inches wide. Unfortunately, both edges have been chipped away by the builders, by whom it was evidently used, probably in the church walls.

A. One face shows the shaft of a cross of the usual form, with the spring of the flat circle connecting the limbs. The shaft must have been about forty inches long and from seven to seven and a half inches wide. It is bordered by a flat moulding, the circle by an incised line. The shaft bears elaborate zoomorphic interlacing, which it requires close and careful examination to trace. Three dragons are represented by as many broad bands, almost lacertine in character, with distinct reptilian heads, having top-knots and tails formed by narrower double bands, which turn back and interlace round their bodies. These are bordered by an incised line, reduced in the narrower portions to a double bead, and decorated with small notches and scores in sets of three, suggesting a prototype in wood. The space to the right has had somewhat similar interlacing, though too broken to say whether it was zoomorphic.

That to the left shows below the circle the head of the steed Gráni and one of the talking birds, below which stands Sigurd, helmeted, stooping forward over the fire, the flames of which are figured by three triangles, and holding in his left hand the wand on which is the dragon's heart, represented by three rings; while his right hand is held to his mouth to cool his burning fingers. Below we have a dragon similar in character to those on the shaft, but larger. Below, in the folds of the dragon we again see Sigurd, helmeted, piercing Fafni with his short pointed sword.

B. The other face has had a similar cross, the spaces right (probably) and left with interlacing of like character. The shaft also bears Scandinavian plaitwork, the bands terminating in the heads of serpents. At the top, two broad bands come down from the head, ending in an irregular knot. Below this are two bands, double-beaded, in figure-of-eight twists, looped on a short diagonal one with pointed ends. In the midst is the figure of a man in kirtle and peaked cap, with wrists and ankles fettered, one of the serpents biting his left

shoulder. Behind is a smaller serpent coiled in a plait-of-three, and below are remains of another. This appears to be intended for Gunnar in the worm-pit.¹

Excepting for the form of the cross itself this piece shows no trace of Celtic influence, being the most perfect example of pure Scandinavian art with which we have yet had to deal. The carving is from a sixteenth to an eighth of an inch in relief, the cross a quarter of an inch.

96.—Ramsey, Maughold. Plate xlvi.—One of my most interesting discoveries has been that of a stone built as a lintel to an outhouse of a dwelling in Ramsey, in the parish of Maughold. Many years ago my father had told me that he had once seen a stone which he thought must belong to this class of monument used as a lintel at "The Mansion," in Maughold Street, Ramsey. At that time I was unable to see about it, and had almost forgotten it, when, in February, 1901, Mr. W. Callow, builder, brought me word that a carved stone had been exposed there by weathering, the property having then for some time been unoccupied. By permission of Mr. G. B. Light, who had purchased it, I had the stone taken out, and have since sent it with several others to Maughold Parish Church. It measures about forty-six inches long by twelve to seven inches wide, and from three to four inches thick, and shows what appears to be the lower part of the shaft of a cross.

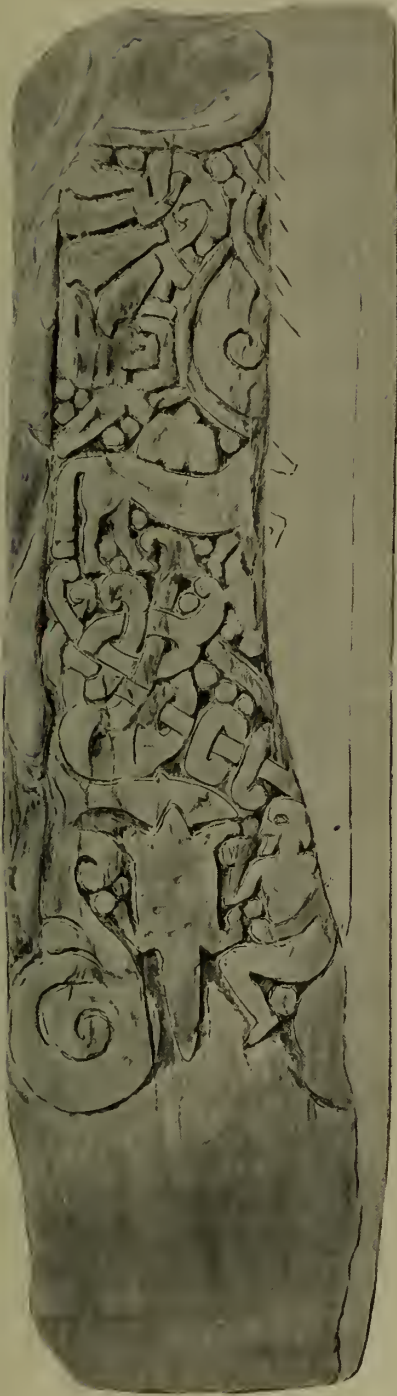
A. One face bears interlacing of broad and narrow bands, with numerous pellets, forming a sort of figure-of-eight. The broad bands are bordered by incised lines, the narrow ones alternately plain and double-beaded.

B. The special interest of this face lies in the fact that for the first time we find the figure of Loki in the act of heaving stones at the Otter, which is eating the Salmon just caught in the Foss! Above, and separated by some characteristic Scandinavian interlacing, we see the steed Gráni, on its back the chest containing the hoard won by Sigurd upon his slaying the dragon Fafni—a later portion of the story. A portion of the lower interlacing looks as if it might have been suggested by the roasting heart of the dragon on the wand, as shown on the stones before described. Above this is further irregular and angular interlacing.

The carving is from an eighth of an inch to three-sixteenths of an inch in relief, executed with a square-pointed punch, and distinguished, especially on face **B**, by an unusual number of pellets.

The house in which the stone was found was built by Christian Ballure about a hundred years ago, and it would be an easy and a likely thing for him to have brought the stone from the chapel or the old burial-place on Ballure—the ancient church of Ramsey, not half-a-mile away. Modern tombstones are known to have been brought thence to serve as lintels to other houses in the neighbourhood. Now we read in our *Chronicle* that King Olave was treacherously slain by his nephew Reginald in 1153. The spot is not specified further than to say that it was "*in portu qui vocatur Ramsa*." I think it possible, therefore, that this monument was erected in memory of King Olave at Ballure, the nearest consecrated ground to the place where he had fallen.

¹ In an address on the Saga Illustrations on Early Manx Monuments—Viking Club, *Saga-Book*, 1895-6—I suggested that this might represent the Bound Loki, but I think now it certainly is meant for Gunnar.



96B

FIGURE SUBJECTS.

96A

(96B, A) Sigurd Slab from Ramsey, Maughold, Scale about $\frac{1}{4}$.



We have, then, four pieces which undoubtedly bear illustrations of the Sigurd Sagas. As the inscriptions, if ever there were any, have in each instance been broken off, it is impossible to say to whom they were erected, or to date them with precision; we may, however, suppose that, as in the case of the Swedish stone, they were raised to individuals who claimed descent from the great-hearted Sigurd.

Now both Godred Sigtryggson and the new Godred (Crovan) who succeeded him in 1080 claimed such descent through Olaf the White, of Dublin, a near connection of Harold Harfagr, King of Norway, who, according to tradition, was a descendant of Aslaug, daughter of Sigurd and of Brynhild. These stones, therefore, may have been erected to members of their families. As regards Godred Crovan, son of Harold the Black, of Islay,¹ probably grandson to an earlier King Godred who was slain in 989, he, as vassal either to the King of Norway or to the Earl of Orkney, had fought with Tosti and Harold Sigurdson (Hardrada) at Stamford Bridge, whence he escaped to his kinsman Godred, King of Man, upon whose death some years afterwards he succeeded in making himself king. He died at Islay in 1095. Tosti, who could also claim descent from Sigurd, was lord of the manor of Halton, Lancaster, and Mr. Calverley² was of opinion that the Sigurd slab there was probably erected by his followers to his memory. This Halton stone may have been seen by Godred and his followers, and have suggested those afterwards set up in Man. The tree on the Jurby piece, and the horse on the Malew one, bear a close resemblance to those at Halton.

Though unable to date our pieces individually, I have no doubt of their sequence, nor of the outside limits within which they must be placed. None could be earlier than Gaut's work, and if that at Jurby were made by him, it is certainly a late one; but the more we consider its treatment and execution, the more it seems likely that it was the work of another sculptor adopting and developing Gaut's designs and general mode of treatment. It cannot in that case be earlier than about 1070, and may possibly have been erected to the memory of Godred Sigtryggson, or of his son Fingall, about 1075-1080. The Malew carving of Sigurd and Fafni has certainly been suggested by that at Jurby, but we cannot believe that the sculptor of the spirited design on the latter carved the feeble figures on the Malew piece. On the other hand, the artist of the horse at Malew could hardly have been guilty of the ill-drawn steed at Jurby, while the geometrical work on the shaft of the former is superior in execution and design to that of the latter, and the dragon on the other face is of an entirely different type.

The Andreas piece is manifestly by yet another sculptor; the whole appearance of the monument, as well as the drawing and the execution, and the treatment of the Sigurd story, are entirely different. We may imagine a new artist to have arrived direct from Norway in the train of King Magnus, who, upon his arrival in the island in 1098, built forts and sent to Norway for fresh settlers. The Ramsey fragment is distinctly later than any of the others, and certainly by a different artist; but whether, as I suppose, it was erected to King Olave, or to someone else during his reign, I think it cannot be later than the middle of the twelfth century.

¹ Munch, in his notes to the *Chronicle*, Manx Society, vol. xxii., p. 144, argues that the "de Island" of the *Chronicle* means neither Ireland nor Iceland, but the Island of Isla, a territorial designation.

² *Crosses, etc., Carlisle*, pp. 183-197.

Now the Sigurd carvings in Sweden are placed from the beginning to the middle of the eleventh century. The Norwegian wood-carvings appear to be later, and one has been dated the middle of the twelfth century. In Cumberland, for example, at Gosforth, Saga sculpturings have been found built into the foundations of twelfth century walls, and the Halton stone already referred to may be earlier than the last quarter of the eleventh century. In the Isle of Man one might expect them to appear at an equally early date. I feel no difficulty, therefore, in assigning the period between 1075 and 1153 as that in which these four monuments were erected, but a more precise date or nearer indication of the individuals to whose memory they were set up it is, I fear, impossible to give in the absence of inscriptions, of record, and even of tradition.

The illustrations of their Hero-myths would naturally suggest to our sculptors other mythological subjects, and we find seven pieces which certainly depict the High Gods, the Anses, as well as giants, dwarfs, monsters, and some other figures.¹

97.—Bride. Plate xlvii.—Kermode, *Traces of Norse Mythology in the Isle of Man*, pl. vi.

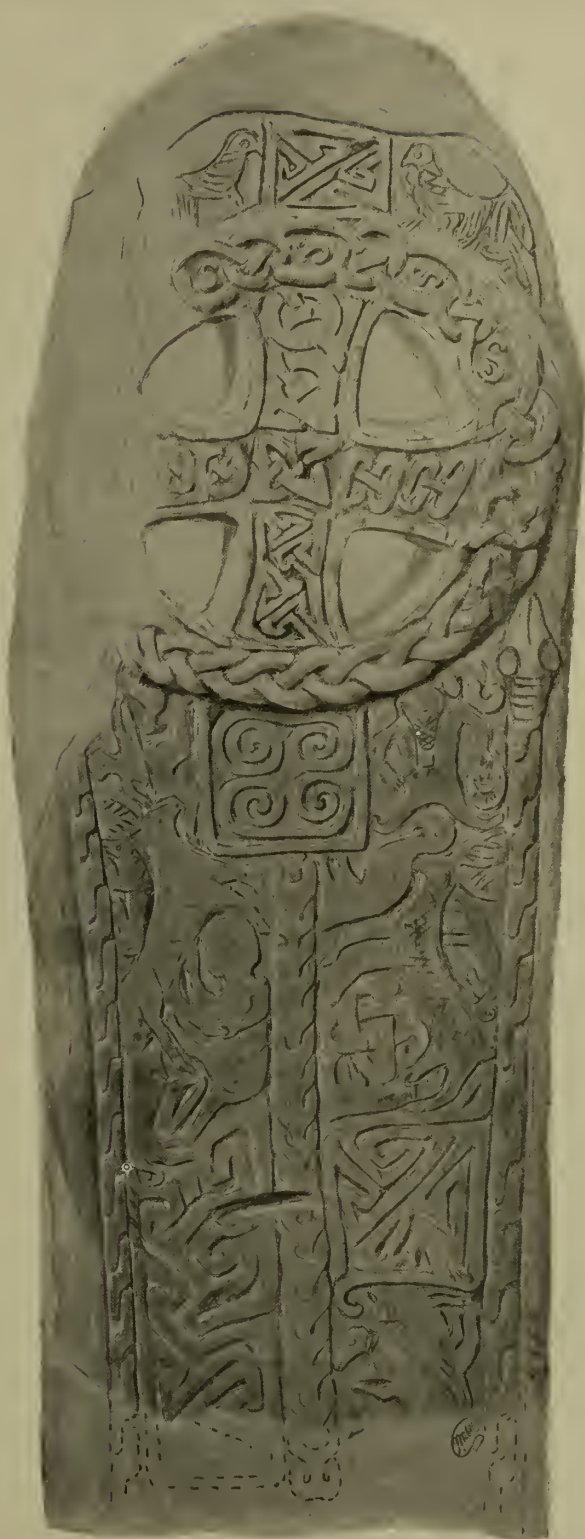
One of our finest examples of this class of monument is a fairly perfect cross-slab at Kirk Bride Parish Church, which was probably brought to light when the old church was pulled down in 1869. This exhibits a wealth of mythological carvings equal to that on the shield given by Thorleif the Wise to Thiodwolf. It is a large slab with rounded top, the spaces between the limbs pierced; and measures about fifty-six inches by twenty-one inches wide and three inches thick. The bottom is broken off; the ornament must evidently have extended for another two or three inches at least, and probably there would have been from twelve to twenty inches below, undecorated; so that the total height would have been about seven feet. Each face bears an equal-limbed cross within a circle, which is a true one.

A. One face has the cross ornamented with knotwork, the central square having a design of two diagonal rings interlaced, the drawing of one being imperfect, as often happens. The upper limb shows twist-and-ring design, the lower ring running into one strand of the twist. The right arm has a curious design of two pairs of oval rings with diagonal bars across their centres, the first bar running into the next pair of rings, rather suggesting the figures of the dragon's heart on Sigurd's wand. The left arm is broken, and may have had a design like that of the upper limb; the lower one a modified angular key pattern. The surrounding circle bears twist-and-ring, with ∞ -shaped spiral devices between the rings taking the place of the pellets we sometimes find in that position. At about a third of the way round this pattern breaks into a plait-of-three, one of the strands of the twist coming to an end, the other continued through the plait; this may have changed again into a key-fret, but the portion of the circle is here broken off. The equal limbs of the cross, which is bordered by a plain bead, measure seven inches long by three and a half to four and a half inches wide, the upper limb being just half an inch wider. The narrowest part is about the middle of the limb, the junctions being sub-angular.

¹ For an account of the Norse Mythology readers are referred to Snorri's *Prose Edda* (G. W. Dasent, Translation); Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*; Cleasby and Vigfusson's *Icelandic Dictionary*; and Vigfusson and York Powell's *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*.



97B



97A

FIGURE SUBJECTS.

(97B, A) The Thor Cross, Bride, Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ nearly.

Above the circle is a panel of modified angular key-fret, at either side of and facing which is the figure of a cock, and behind it a triquetra double-beaded; that on the left, however, is now flaked away. Above the panel there appears to have been some work now entirely obliterated.

Immediately below the circle is a panel occupied by two double spirals or volutes, face to face; from this a narrow band runs down the middle of the stone, decorated with the ring-chain pattern. To the right is the figure of a man, bearded, wearing a belt, in his left hand an ill-defined object with which he is hurrying away. Above his shoulder is a large spiral. Below is a large bird, perhaps intended for an eagle. Below this may be seen a stag with a hound at its back and another at its hind feet. The drawing of the antlers is more conventional than is usual on our Scandinavian pieces, and the body of the stag is cross-hatched by way of decoration, which also is a novelty; the space between its legs is occupied by two oval rings interlaced, and below its tail is a plain triangle which runs into a square of crushed angular key-pattern; below are two great hounds seated on their haunches. To the left of the panel, immediately below the circle, is a bird. Below, a man armed with a spear is apparently attacking a stag which faces him; another larger figure of a man is ripping its belly with a knife. At the back of the stag is a hound with a chevron decoration, another at its hind legs. The rest of the space below is occupied by crushed key-pattern.

This face of the slab is bordered by a fillet of step-pattern, which, below the circle on the right, terminates in a large serpent head with sharply-pointed snout and great oval eyes, having round its neck a collar of four bands. There is again an outer border of cable-pattern, now much defaced.

B. The other face shows a similar cross contained within a circle. The limbs of the cross and the inside of the circle are bordered by a plain bead moulding. The limbs of the cross are six and a half inches long, and four inches expanding to five inches wide, but the lower one from three and three-quarters to four inches.

The limbs bear angular key-pattern designs, with curves and flourishes, except the lower one, which has a plait-of-four, double-beaded. The central square, worn almost smooth, has had a close plait. The circle stands out from a quarter to three-eighths of an inch in relief, and is decorated with twist-and-ring, breaking into a key-fret, and from that into a plait-of-four, between the end of which, and the beginning of the twist-and-ring, the space is occupied by a scroll or ∞ -shaped spiral, and a small triquetra. All the bands are double-beaded.

Above the circle a panel slightly wider than the limbs gives a suggestion of a continuation to the head of the cross. This is occupied by angular key-fret as in the limbs, within a narrow border of step-pattern. On either side of, and facing this panel, is a small human figure, dog-faced, at the back of which is a plain triangle; that on the left seems also to have had something in front of it. The rounded top of the slab has a cable-border, broad and boldly cut, with traces of a band of step-pattern outside of it. The space between the panel described and the border is occupied by a chevron.

Immediately below the circle is another panel with the angular key-fret of which this artist is so fond, but on a larger scale, bordered with cable moulding. From this a band

runs down the middle as on the other face, but decorated with step-pattern. The space to the right is occupied by a man resting on a spear, above his shoulder a double spiral. Below is a panel containing a plait-of-nine, double-beaded. Below, an animal of which the head and back are broken off, so that it is difficult to say what it is intended for, but it looks most like a horse; its fore-feet are trampling a person crouched in front of it with arms crossed, another is outstretched between its legs, while a third lies prone at its hind feet and under the fore-feet of another horse. Below this, and to the right, the stone is unfortunately broken. On the left we see below the circle a man belted attacking a serpent. At his feet is a curious square ring with deep, hollow centre. Immediately below the coils of the serpent, at the right foot of the belted figure, is a small human figure running. Below is a monstrous human figure with arms akimbo and legs widespread, decorated with plait-work; between its arms are interlaced figures-of-eight and circular rings; below the arms small triquetras. Its legs are stretched astride a step-pattern border to a panel of angular key-fret, from which a band breaks away to form a large double volute. Probably this terminated the design. The triangular space left between the volute and the key-pattern is occupied by a triquetra, double-beaded.

This face, like the last, has an inner and outer border of step-pattern and of cable, the former being outside on the left, and on the right, inside. The carving is from an eighth to three-eighths of an inch in relief.

Some of the figure-drawing is no doubt merely decorative. The stags and hounds and hunters have been suggested by Celtic models, as have also the two birds above the cross on one face. But the other figures appear to have a mythological reference. Thus, on face **B**, to the right, below the panel of plait-work, is figured a scene which cannot, I think, be considered as merely decorative—human figures beneath the feet of horses. The Sigurd stones which have been described suggest an explanation. We read that Odin, in the form of Bikke, the evil counsellor, suggested to the Gothic king the death of Swanhild, daughter of Sigurd, on the ground, as expressed in a lost Jormunrek lay, of her supposed sympathy with his enemies, the Huns—"For he was moved to wrath by the treacherous desertion of her husband." In the Gudrúnarhvöt, or "Gudrun's Chain of Woe," we read:—"She was like a glorious sunbeam in my bower. I endowed her with gold and goodly raiment or ever I married her into Gothland. That was the hardest of all my sorrows when they trod Swanhild's fair hair in the dust under the hoofs of the horses." Some years ago I showed this stone to Dr. Alexander Bugge, when he was on a visit to the Island. He thought the animal was a stag, and in *Vikinjerne*, p. 228, compares this scene with one figured on a stone from Ardre Kirke, now in Stockholm Museum, which shows two animals conventionally treated, trampling a human form under foot. I think, however, that on the Ardre stone also the animals may be intended for horses, and that as on the Bride one the reference may be to the death of Swanhild. The human figures above, on the Ardre stone, may be taken for King Jormunrek with Bikke whispering in his ear. (See p. 53.)

More convincing, perhaps, are the references to Thor on this stone. On face **A**, just below the circle, we see in the bearded figure carrying a large object in one hand a suggestion of one of Thor's most famous adventures.¹ The slayer of giants and

¹ *Hymis-kvida*, 70.

monsters was destined in the end to meet with the dread dragon Jormungand, one of Loki's evil brood. He tried to anticipate matters, and we are told that once upon a time he went in the guise of a young man to the house of the giant Hymi, where he tarried as guest for the night. At dawn Hymi made ready to go a-fishing, and Thor would go too. He asked what they should have for bait, but the giant, who did not want his company, answered surlily that he might go look for bait for himself. Thor noticed on the hillside Hymi's herd of oxen; he went up to the largest, a coal-black one called *Himinhriot*, "wrung" off its head, and ran back to the strand. Hymi had then shoved off his skiff, but Thor got on board and began to row. At last the giant, who had thought to tire and to frighten him by the distance they would pull, himself objected to go further, for, he said, they were already in mid-ocean, and likely to be over the Midgarðsorm. Then, we are told, "the sturdy Hymi kept pulling up whales, two at once, on his hook." But Thor baited his angle with the ox-head, and cast it overboard. The God-abhorred serpent gulped down the bait, and tugged so hard that both Thor's fists were dashed against the gunwale. Then he put forth his god's strength and hauled with such force that he drove both his feet through the bottom of the boat. He grasped his hammer, but the giant, quaking with fear, fumbled at his fishing-knife and cut the line. Back sank the dragon into the deep. Thor flung his hammer after him, then, with his fist, tumbled Hymi overboard, and waded back to land.

On the fragment of a stone at Gosforth, Cumberland,¹ of the same period as ours, and carved by the same people, we find the figure of a boat with the giant hauling in the whales, and Thor in the stern casting his line, attached to the other end of which we may recognize the ox-head. On another stone we see Thor with his two feet dashed through the bottom of the boat. Here, at Kirk Bride, for the first time we see Thor carrying the ox-head for bait, and hastening with great strides to reach the strand before the giant will have put off.

As another indication that Thor is meant, we notice that the step-pattern border of the slab by his side ends ingeniously in the head of a monstrous serpent—Jormungand. At Ragnarök they are to meet, and Thor will slay the Midgarðsorm, but on retreating nine

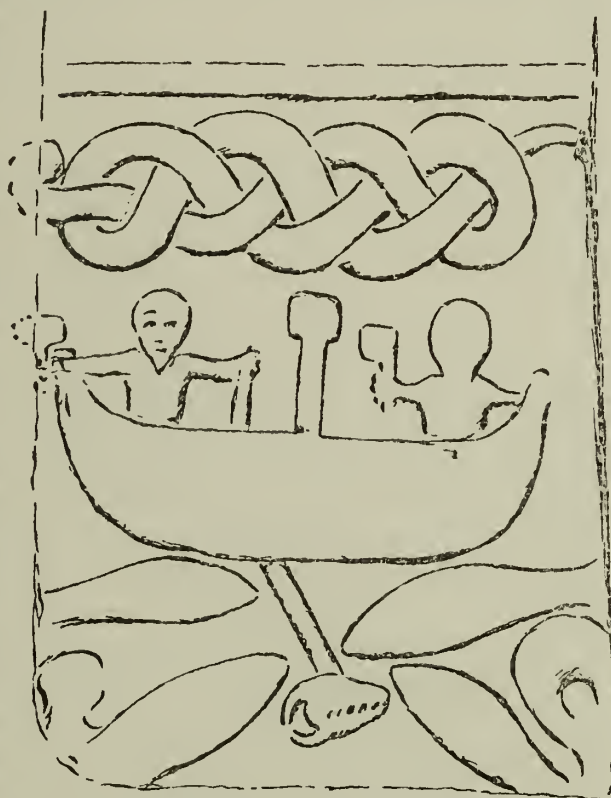


FIG. 57.—THOR'S FISHING (from stone at Gosforth).

¹ *Crosses, etc., Carlisle* (Rev. W. S. Calverley), p. 168.

steps he is so overcome by the venomous fumes from the monster that he himself succumbs. This slaying is here depicted on face **B**. Below the circle to the left is the figure of the bearded Thor, girt with his strength-belt—*megingjarðar*—attacking the serpent. His head is turned away as he is about to retreat from the dying monster. The corresponding figure on the right, a man armed with a spear, is probably intended for Odin.

Below the feet of this second figure of Thor, and above the shoulders of a giant, is the curious ring with deep cup-hollow, which appears to be something more than a mere decorative device to fill up a space, such as the triquetra and the triangle, and, taken with its surroundings, suggests a reference to another of Thor's adventures which is related in *Hymis-kvida*—this is the recovery of the Caldron, a myth derived possibly from the Celtic one of Cúchulainn, the Sun-Hero, and the Caldron of Mider, King of Falga, a place which "is variously supposed to have been the Isle of Man or *Insi Gall*, that is to say, the Western Isles."¹ The giant *Ægir* set Thor the task of procuring the famous caldron, promising if he did so to make a brew for the gods. None of the blessed gods knew how this could be accomplished, but *Tew* offered to accompany Thor and try what could be done. So they came to *Hymi's Hall* at the end of Heaven, and after many adventures Thor carried it out of the giant's court, clapped it on his head, and the chains rattled about his heels. "So he came to the gods' Thing bringing the caldron that *Hymi* had owned."

The monstrous figure below, with arms akimbo and legs outspread, may well be the Lord of the Giants, *Rungni*, of whom we read in *Thiodwolf's Shield Song* and in the *Edda*. Once, having been allowed by *Odin* to enter *Asgard*, the abode of the high gods, and being treated with hospitality, he grew boastful and—a thing unheard of—challenged Thor to combat. A day having been fixed, and a battle-place (*Rockgarth*) pitched, *Rungni* took up his position. He was very huge, his head was of stone, his heart also of hard stone pointed into three horns. He stood with his great stone shield set before him, and for weapon had a hone which he bore on his shoulder. Thor's arrival is finely described. He came down "in a ring of flame," the heavens thundered beneath him; "the earth was rent asunder as the goats drew the chariot-god on to his tryst with *Rungni*." Thor's man, *Thialfi*, ran before, and seeing the giant's strong position, gave him to understand that Thor had seen him and was going down into the earth to come up against him from below. Thereupon *Rungni* thrust the shield under his feet and stood upon it, and took hold of the hone with both hands. Thor cast his hammer at him from afar. *Rungni* threw his hone, which met the hammer in its flight and broke asunder, one half falling to earth, whence come all rocks of hone, the other crashing into Thor's head, so that he fell forward. But the hammer broke *Rungni's* skull into little bits, and he fell dead over Thor, so that his foot lay athwart Thor's neck. The step-pattern ornament here suggests the shield, astride which the giant awaits the attack. But at the feet of Thor, between the coils of the serpent and the shoulder of the giant, is a small figure running with arms outstretched. I was inclined at first to follow Professor *Bugge's* suggestion that we might have here the dwarf *Lit*, which at *Balder's* funeral, when Thor stood up and hallowed the pyre with his hammer, ran before him, and Thor spurned at him with his foot and dashed him into the fire, and

¹ *Celtic Heathendom*, pp. 261 and 476.

he was burnt. I now think, however, that a better explanation, bringing this figure into agreement both with Thor and Rungni, would be that it represents Magni, the son of Thor and the giantess Jarnsaxa, who was at that time just three nights' old. When all the Anses had tried in vain to take Rungni's foot off him, Magni ran up and released him, whereupon Thor stood up and acknowledged his son and welcomed him.

But if this is not a dwarf I think the two small figures above the circle certainly are, and take them to represent two of the four dwarfs which support the firmament—namely, Austri, Vestri, Nordri, and Sudri—the chevron design above, together with the arched border of the stone, suggesting the skies. On a hog-backed stone at Heysham, we see these two dwarfs upholding the firmament, which is distinguished by the chevron pattern between them.¹

In the lowest panel, to the right, of the other face (A) we surely see the two great hounds of the eclipse—Garm, who at Ragnarök is to swallow the moon, and that other that takes the sun:—"Fiercely bays Garm before the cave of the rock, the chain shall snap, and the Wolf range free" (*Völuspá*, ii.).

The great bird above, just below the panel, may be the eagle resting on Yggdrasil, here represented by the band of ring-chain. The bird-headed figure with a spear, to the left of the panel—if we may regard it apart from the stag, as it is possible was intended by the artist—may be taken for Odin, his raven at his side.

98.—**Jurby.** Plate xlvi.—Cumming, 7. Kermodé, *Traces of the Norse Mythology*, p. 18, pls. i., ii.

In Jurby Church is a loose fragment measuring thirty-one inches by twenty inches, and three inches thick. This was found in a corner of the churchyard by the Italian employed by Cumming to make his casts. Each face shows the lower portion of the shaft of a cross.

A. On this face, which Cumming describes as "too much effaced to afford any figure, if it ever existed," the shaft has the ring-chain pattern, with a finely-incised line border to the central V-shaped buckles only. The space to the left shows tendril-pattern, double-beaded; that to the right a roughly circular design of agglomerated flat pellets contained within a border of step-pattern. Above are the forelegs of a boar.

B. The shaft on this face has plait-and-ring, the rings and inner bands bordered and pelleted. The space to the right shows, above, a rounded figure broken; below, a boar; and below that a stag, both feebly drawn; that to the left a robed figure, bearded, carrying a trident; below, a bird-headed figure in buttoned tunic, carrying a pole over his shoulder, from the end of which a rope suspends a smaller dog-headed figure. The shaft measures nine and a quarter to nine and a half inches wide; the carving is from a sixteenth to an eighth of an inch in relief; the cross, three-eighths of an inch.

The bristles on the boar's back are shown in a quite conventional manner, and it has spirals at the junction of the limbs; the head is weak, and the legs very feeble. The hart or stag has the tines of both antlers turned inwards; the body is bordered and decorated by fine diagonal lines, and spirals shown to the limbs, which are ill-drawn. Both animals, as well as the remains on the other face, are distinctly two-toed. The human figures are better drawn than the animals, and the geometrical designs are bold and clear. The very slight relief is slightly increased by a deepening immediately round the forms of the animals. The work is certainly by a different artist from any of the preceding pieces.

¹ *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, vol. v., pl. vi.; and vol. ix., pls. ix., x., xi.

Can the curious imbricated design on the first face be intended to suggest the roof of golden shields?

The boar on face B is no doubt Sæhrimner, food of the heroes in Valhall, who hunt and slay and feast upon his flesh; afterwards Thor, waving his hammer over the bones, restores him to life. The broken design above may, as suggested by Dr. S. Bugge, represent the shield-panelling of Valhall. The other figure is the sacred Hart:—

Eikthyrnir the hart is called
That stands o'er Odin's hall,
And bites from Lærad's branches;
From his horns fall
Drops into Hvergelmir,
Whence all waters rise.

Grinnis-mal.

The group to the left I at first took to signify the capture of Loki,¹ but, as Professor Sophus Bugge points out,² the motives from the Völsunga Saga are those most frequently represented on the Manx stones; the reference here, therefore, is more likely to be to Randver, Jörmunrek's son, whom Odin, under the guise of Bikke, the evil counsellor, persuaded his aged father to sacrifice by hanging, as related in the Prose Edda, Gudrúnarhvöt. To understand it aright, we must bear in mind that Odin is ever eager to bring the greatest champions to Valhalla to share in the joyous lives of the gods, and to be ready at the great Day of Doom to sally forth with them and do battle with the monsters and the demons. We must remember, too, that it is by *hanging* that a man is dedicated to Odin. Randver is figured of small size, to signify that he is young, as, upon the Frank's Casket, Weland's young brother, Ægile, who captures birds, is depicted as a little figure. As to the other figure, Professor Bugge's remarks are so very interesting that I must here endeavour to translate them. "According to the representation in Snorre's Edda, and the introduction to the poem Gudrúnarhvöt, it is Bikke who in his evil course influenced Jörmunrek to hang his son Randver. *Sax. Grammaticus* says the same (lib. viii, p. 413, ed. Müll), but giving the son the name of Broderus. And in this Saga form it is plainly Bikke who dooms Broderus to be hanged. Now it is to be remarked that the Valkyries in Darraðarljóð, Str. 1 (following MS., A), are styled *Vinur Randve's bania*—the friends of Randver's slayer—an expression not hitherto rightly understood." He then goes on to show that in a series of Norse heroic Sagas, "there appears a king with an evil counsellor interpreted as a human incarnation of Odin. . . . Originally, in the Hero-Sagas, he was completely human, but by an interpretation by the old Norse poets, the Hero-Saga, here as elsewhere, has been brought into connection with the God-Saga, and the evil counsellor has become a disguised appearance of Odin, who works destruction among men in order to bring the supremest heroes to Valhalla. Thus the chieftain with Harold Hildetann; he is called Brúni, and Brúni is a name of Odin. So, too, the evil counsellor *Bólvis blindr*, or *Blindr enn bólvisi*, who also bears a name of Odin, in the Saga on Hagbard, Romund Gripsson, and Helge Hundingsbane. We find him again in the ballad on Ribold (Rikeball), in the English form of which he is called 'auld carl Hood,' *i.e.*, Hood (Hótr), Odin. So again, *Gizurr*, who eggs on the two

¹ Saga illustrations, *Saga-Book*, 1895-6.

² *Nordiske Runeindskrifter, etc.*, "Særtryk af Aarb. for Nord Oldkynd og Hist.," 1899, p. 253.



98B

FIGURE SUBJECTS.

98A

(98B, A) Jurby, Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ (nearly).

brothers *Angantýr* and *Hlödör* to fight with each other, whose name appears among Odin's names, cf. Möbius, *Málshátta kvæði*, p. 36, f. So lastly Bikke. Thus in Darraðarlj, 'Randver's slayers' friends,' will signify Odin's friends. As Bikke, Odin causes Randver's death; he is Randver's *ráðbani* . . . That the figure here is meant for Odin is confirmed by the fact that it has a bird's head, for Odin is called *Arnhöfði*, eagle-headed."

The bearded figure above, in a long robe, armed with a trident, may possibly be intended for the aged Jörmunrek. The space to the right, says Professor Bugge, will, therefore, represent Valhalla; that to the left, the human world. "From this, Odin, as it seems to me, is bearing Randver to Valhall, the middle space being a conventional figure of the Tree of Life."

99.—Jurby. Plate xlix.—Cumming, 11a, b. Kermode, *Traces of the Norse Mythology*, p. 28, pls. viii, ix.

In Jurby churchyard also is the broken head of a cross, measuring thirty inches by sixteen inches, and two inches thick. One can guess its original height to have been about seventy-six inches, as Cumming's cast shows that about three inches have been broken off the top, and the portion now broken off the inscription would require at least twenty-three inches; and there would have been from twelve to twenty inches below that. Each face shows the head of a shafted cross with no surrounding circle.

A. The shaft shows tendril pattern, which Cumming represents as a form of link-twist. The stone is much worn, but I see no certain indication of this; on the contrary I can trace what looks like the end of the "tendril" in the usual form of a loose coil. The upper limb develops a design of two loops back to back, interlaced with a diamond-shaped ring; the arms are occupied by two bands at right angles to those running up to the head, terminating in double triquetra loops. The bands are decorated by finely-incised diagonal scores between two border lines, suggesting a pelleted ornament; variety is afforded by the tendrils being double-beaded, also the ring in the head and the connecting link in the arms, the terminations otherwise being plain, thus emphasizing the general design. There has been some scoring also in the nature of fringed corners. The space to the left of the shaft has a plain key-fret, that to the right an artistic knot (broken down the middle), which is in fact an elaboration of the terminal designs of the two arms, brought together and connected in one design. It reminds one somewhat of designs on the Truian cross, Bride 92. The space above the right arm is broken off, but has contained a figure holding a staff or spear. Cumming's cast, taken when the stone was rather more perfect, shows traces of some interlaced design above the head. Above the left arm is a dog-headed female figure with long, braided hair, draped in loose, flowing garments. This may be meant for the sibyl *Hyndla*, whose name signifies the little Bitch. Her prophecies tell of Heimdall and of Ragnarök.

The measurements of the cross are:—head, eleven inches by six to six and a quarter inches; left arm, eight and three-quarter inches by five and a half expanding to six inches; shaft, broken at seventeen inches, is seven inches wide, and expands three-quarters of an inch to the point where broken.

B. The other face shows a similar cross:—head, nine and a half inches by six and a quarter inches; right arm, nine inches by five and a half inches; the left arm is broken;

and the shaft, broken at seventeen and a half inches, must have been forty-one inches long, and is six and a half inches wide. The head shows the bands, scored as on the first face, crossing at right angles in the centre and terminating in each limb in diagonal interlaced rings, scored at the points. The shaft is occupied by a solitary instance of the double-twist. Above the left arm may be seen the remains of a robed figure; above the right, that of a man in a tunic with a row of large buttons, in his left hand a short pointed sword, his right holding to his mouth a long Alpine horn (Old Norse, *Lúðr*, now *Lur*). A piece has been broken off the top of the stone since Cumming's time, for his cast, now in Castle Rushen, shows on the man's head a helmet represented by a curious bit of interlacing, of which now only the lower ends remain; above this it shows the figure of a flying raven. The space to the right of the shaft is occupied by an irregular knot, which, as on the other face, has been developed from the terminal designs to the limbs, in this case interlaced diagonal rings, the ends flourished with scored fringes and a small spiral.

The remaining human figure is evidently intended for Heimdall, Warder of the Gods, who dwells at the foot of the rainbow, *Bifrost*, the "quaking-bridge," leading from earth to Asgard. As Warder of the Gods he has charge of the Giallar-horn, kept at the roots of the sacred tree, the blast of which rings through the nine worlds when he summons the gods for the last great battle, in which he meets and slays Loki, by whom he himself is slain:—

Loud blows Heimdall,
His horn is uplift.

The raven flies before him carrying the tidings to Odin; and Yggdrasil is represented by the cross of Christ.

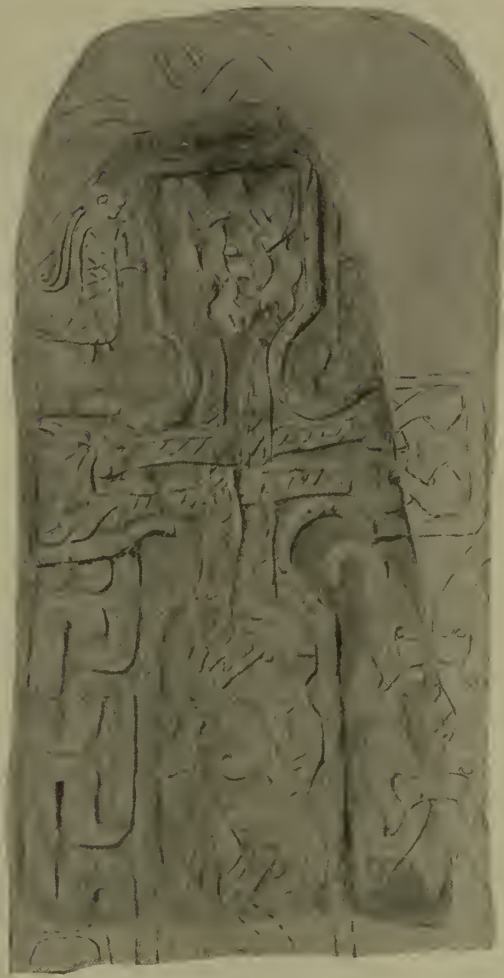
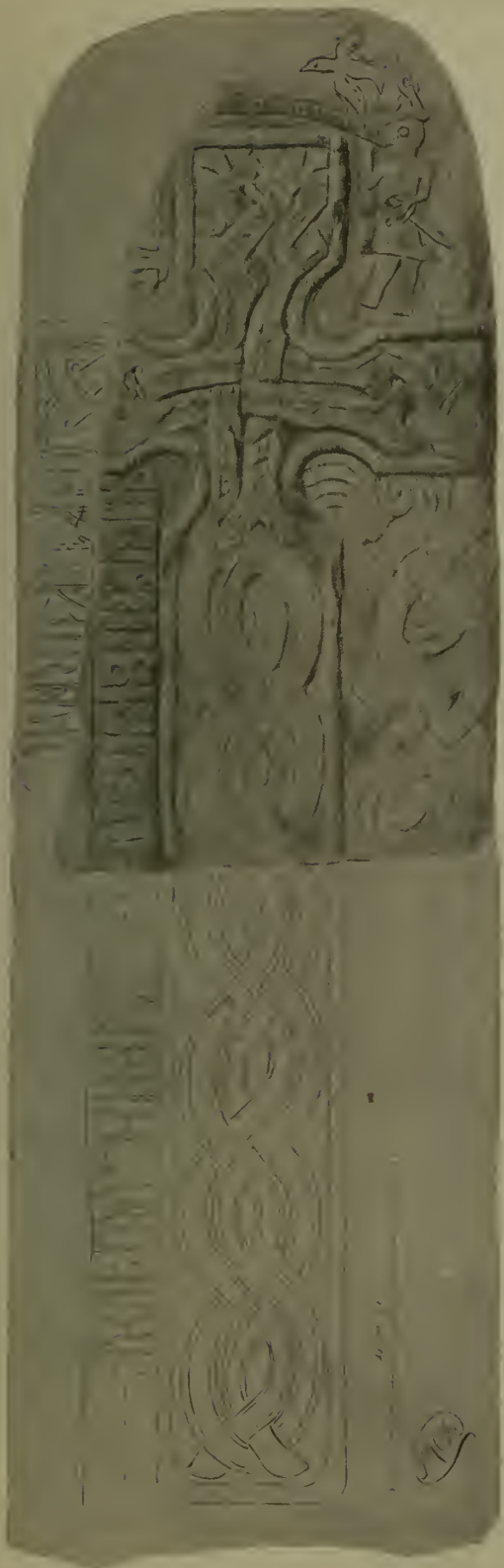
The space to the left of the shaft bears the remains of the inscription, of which Cumming's cast preserves a portion of a second line, the first reading upwards, the other in the opposite direction:—

. . . UN SIN : IN : ONON : RAITI . . .

The parallel line, according to the cast, read: [IFT] FAIRTHUR : BR . . The inscription would, no doubt, begin in the ordinary manner, so that we may partly reconstruct as follows:—

[A.B. ERECTED THIS CROSS TO THE MEMORY OF C.D.] HIS SON, BUT RAISED ANOTHER
TO THE MEMORY OF FAIRTHUR. . . .

The first remaining word is very badly worn, but I can trace the UN of SUN, preceded by the dot of the S, and most certainly it is not RU, as read by Munch, Cumming and Kneale. The next is sufficiently clear, the middle letter being I, not U, as read by these. The third word is given by Vigfusson as AN, but there is no character-stroke, and the earlier authors rightly read IN. All are agreed on the reading of ONON, but Cumming translated it as a man's name, which has been adopted by succeeding readers (myself included). Munch, however, translates it *sed aliam (cruce)*, which it must be. Professor Bugge compares it with LIT : IKIKER : ANAN : RAISA : STAIN. Lilj. Run-Urk. 552, Upland. The word appears on the Glavendrup stone, ONON RAITI seeming to express the pronunciation *rætti*, from *rætta*,



99B

FIGURE SUBJECTS.

99A

(99B, A) Inscribed Slab, showing figure of Heimdall, Jurby.

to make straight, raise up; so RAITI, Lilj. 1119 (Stephen's *O. N. R. Mon.*, ii, 720); RAITA, Lilj. 883 (*O. N. R. Mon.*, ii, 744), Lilj. 1579, and *Rune Verses*, p. 39 to 42. Vigfusson regards RAITI as the weak form for the strong RAIT, 'wrote,' and not as "a mis-spelling for RAISTI, but as referring to the runes and not to the cross."

As regards the rest, in the absence of the original, we cannot ignore the cast, as Vigfusson does. The first word is badly worn, but may have been AFT or IFT. The next is perfectly clear, though it is difficult to explain it. It cannot stand for *Father*, as translated by Cumming. Munch treats it as a man's name, *Fairthurus*, and Dr. Brate agrees that it must be intended for a personal name, though an unknown form. The only letter at all doubtful is the third, on which a slight flake might represent the character stroke for A.

The runes are about two and a quarter inches long, the lines are a sixteenth of an inch wide and deep.

100.—**Michael.** Plate 1.—Kinnebrook, 5, 2, 3. Cumming, 3a, b. Kermode, *Traces of the Norse Mythology*, p. 20, pl. iii.

Within the church porch at Michael two pieces of this cross are preserved; the head is missing, and there is a gap between the pieces. In Kinnebrook's time they formed a portion of the church wall, and were still there when seen by Cumming.

A. One face shows the shaft of a cross and the beginning of the circle which connected the limbs. The length of the cross itself must have been over fifty-eight inches; the stone, therefore, was probably over six feet high. Its present measurements, setting the two pieces in their relative position one with another, which can be done, as the fracture shows how one fitted into the other, are thirty-eight and a half inches long by sixteen and a half inches wide, and three inches thick. Twelve inches or more are broken off the top, about six inches of the decoration off the bottom, below which must have been another twelve to eighteen inches uncarved.

Cross and circle had a plain bead-border. The shaft is ornamented with the plait-and-ring design, the outer bands and rings pelleted; at the top, the pellets are on the inner band on the left side. The space to the right shows tendril pattern, plain; one of the tendrils has an addition below of a little tassel. The space to the left has had twist-and-ring, but at the lower end the ring has been omitted, and the twist contracted, evidently to fit into a narrower space caused by a flake in the stone.

B. The other face shows a similar cross with remains of a circle. The shaft has ring-chain pattern, double-beaded, carried unusually high. The space to the right has, above, the two forefeet of an animal, probably a wolf; below, the well-drawn figure of another wolf—this has a collar and the ribs are marked by scores, and the joints of the limbs with the body decorated with spirals. Below is a man, bird-headed, with a long spear in his right hand, his left on the hilt of a short, pointed sword; he is clothed in a tunic, or kirtle, reaching almost to the knee. Below is the head of a large fish. The space to the left has, above, a robed figure, with the peculiar fringed nimbus bearing three little crosslets. His two hands clasp in front of him a tau-shaped staff and a book. Below are two bird-headed figures of men in tunics to the knee—one, feet uppermost, with short, pointed sword in his hand; the other in the act of sheathing a similar sword. Below is a wild boar with spiral to the lower limb; probably it had one also to the upper limb, now worn away.

The carving is an eighth of an inch in relief on this face, and on face **A** from one-eighth to a quarter of an inch; the circle is from a quarter to three-eighths of an inch, and the cross from three-eighths to five-eighths of an inch in relief.

Are we to consider these various figures of men and beasts as meaningless ornament, or may we suppose that the artist intended to suggest some idea, teach some lesson, or represent scenes and actions which would be recognized by his contemporaries when they viewed the monument?

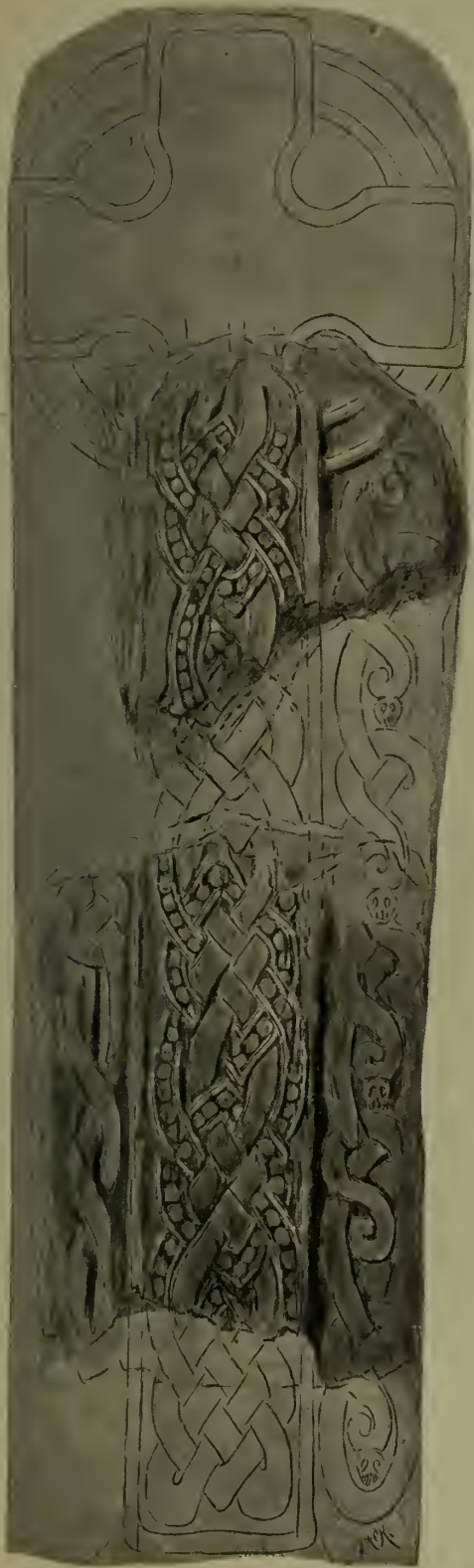
It seems unreasonable to regard them as meaningless, and I think we get here a glimpse of the Viking faith and the joys of Valhalla. Bird-headed figures are meant to represent gods and heroes. In this case they surely signify the departed champions who on the plain, Idavöll, fight and fall, the fallen rising, however, to join in the nightly carousal, and fight again another day. In the boar we may recognize Sæhrimner, as on Jurby 98. The fish may be the great fish in the stream which runs through Valhalla, *Grimnismal* 21. Above is Odin with his spear, Gungnir accompanied by his wolves, Geri and Freki. But what of the robed figure immediately under the head of the cross? Is not this the Christ, signifying that now, He, and not Odin, is King of Heaven, the material joys of which are depicted at either side of the Tree of Life, Odin's steed, Christ's palfrey?

C. The inscription runs up one edge, some of the runes being lost through the break in the stone. It reads:—

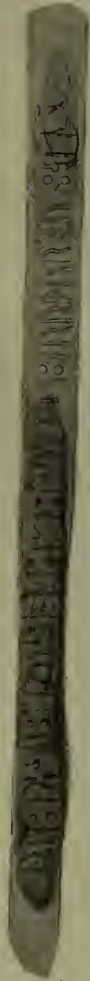
KRIM : RISTI : KRUS : ThNA : IFT : RUMU[N] IN ×
GRIM ERECTED THIS CROSS TO THE MEMORY OF RUMUND (HROMUND), HIS [BROTHER'S SON].

The runes are about an inch and three-quarters long, the lines only about a sixteenth of an inch wide and deep. The top of the M in the first word is almost worn away, otherwise they are quite clear. Cumming took this word to be SUAK, Munch following. When I examined it some years ago the runes were choked with cement. It took me a long time to clean it with very great care, using nitric acid and a bit of stick so as not to scratch or injure the runes. When I had done so, the letters for KRIM came out quite distinctly, except for the K, which, however, shows the character-stroke. As so frequently happens, the final R is lacking, the next word beginning with an R—RISTI for RAISTI (not *risti*, cut, carved), *reisti*, from *reisa*, to raise or set up. So we get elsewhere STIN for *stein*, etc. The fourth word is ThNA, *not* THAN, as read by Kneale and by Vigfusson. In RUMU[N] we have lost the initial H, and this affords a clue to the period, for this letter before the liquids l, n, r, was lost in Scandinavia about the eleventh or twelfth century, and so becomes a test of a MS. being Icelandic and not Norse (Cleasby, Vigfusson, Dict. "H"). We meet with the same thing on our Braddan 110, in the word ROSKITIL, and Vigfusson gives it as evidence of the date and language. There is space between the U of Rumund and the final N for about thirteen runes, and it may very possibly have been occupied by the words suggested by Vigfusson—[: BRUTHUR : SUN : S]IN, or others to the like effect.

101.—Michael. Plate li.—Kinnebrook, 5, i. Cumming 8a, b, c. Kermodé, *Traces of the Norse Mythology*, p. 27, pls. iv., vii.



100A



100C



100B

FIGURE SUBJECTS.

(100A, C, B) Grim's Cross to Hromund, Michael.

At Kirk Michael also is a fragment measuring eighteen and a half inches by seventeen and a half inches, and three inches thick. In Kinnebrook's time this was on the churchyard wall, but had been removed to the vestry when seen by Cumming. Each face shows the upper part of a cross of the usual form, except that the upper limb is rather long in proportion.

A. The head on this face shows Gaut's favourite treatment, with the V-shaped links or buckles interlaced with rings, here almost triangular. The bands are pelleted, the centre and the terminal loops being plain by way of distinction, but the ends of the loop in the head are decorated with scores and spirals, and below the upper ring is an approach to foliation. Above the circle, on the left, is a pelleted dragon with top-knot interlaced, having one fore leg and one hind leg. The corresponding space to the right shows a man in a tunic attacked on the head by an eagle. This was mistaken by Cumming for "a piece of cloud overhead," towards which the figure "seems to be ascending." I spent a long time in cleaning away the cement before being able to show clearly what a first inspection had led me to expect—that behind this "cloud" was a great bird. Possibly this may refer to the son or relative of Grim the Black, to whose memory, as appears by the inscription, the cross was erected. We may suppose him to have fallen like a hero in battle. So we read in *Ynglinga-Tal*, 93-96:—"Ottarr the Doughty fell by the weapons of the Danes, under the talons of the eagle, when the war-vulture spurned him, the reason-endowed one, with its brute carrion feet at Wendle." So, perhaps, we may regard this as the carrion-gulper Hræ-svelgr, as in *Vafthruðnis-mal*—"Hræ-svelgr is he called; a giant in eagle's shape, that sits at the end of Heaven; from under his wings the wind that blows over all men is said to come."

B. The other face shows a similar cross, but the head slightly expanding. The design in the upper limb is the same, but the carving more elaborate and the foliation more distinct. In the arms, the two bands split to form diagonal rings, which cross and interlace with a circular one, ending in fringe and spiral flourishes; the lower band and the rings are pelleted. The carving is an eighth of an inch in relief; circle, three-eighths of an inch; and the cup-like hollows, half an inch deep. The centre is occupied by the figure of a man in plaited garment, with a girdle, his arms outstretched in the attitude of prayer or blessing; above his head, the peculiar nimbus with fringed edges, and three incised crosslets. Below his feet are five large, flat pellets, one broken. This, I think, must be intended for Christ in ascension. Above the circle, on the left, is a very well drawn figure of a cock seated on a branch terminating in a triquetra knot; to the right, a winged figure, below which is a detached triquetra. The cock is doubtless here a symbol of the Resurrection. Can the winged figure be intended to represent the Third Person in the Trinity?

C. Only the end of the inscription remains:—

. . . KRIMS : INS : SUARTA ×

[A.B. ERECTED THIS CROSS TO THE MEMORY OF C.D. HIS FATHER, SON] OF GRIM THE BLACK.

The runes are well cut, about two and three-quarter inches long, the last two, two inches; the lines three-sixteenths of an inch wide by one-eighth of an inch deep. The last T and following A are very short, to avoid a crack in the stone. The K is broken along the

stem, but the upper half of the cut is distinctly visible, as well as the character-stroke. Here we have INS, not HINS, seeming to show that the article had also a form without initial H; so in Icelandic—"In good old MSS. it is hardly ever spelt with the aspirate" (*Ice. Dict.*, Cleasby and Vigfusson, s.v. *Hinn*). The decoration shows it to be rather late work. The name Grim, which occurs also on the last, is not uncommon alone or in compound. The description black, or swarthy, is met with on the Sandulf cross, Andreas 103; so we find red on the Joalf stone, Michael 105—nicknames due, no doubt, to the complexion and colour of the hair and beard. In *Landnámabók* we find several such distinctions as the black, the red, and once even "Swart the White."

102.—**Andreas.** Plate lii.—Kermode, *Traces of the Norse Mythology*, p. 29, pl. x.

This little gem was shown to me by the late Archdeacon Moore in the Rectory, Andreas, where it had been for a long time. Of its earlier history I could learn nothing, but it had evidently been used as building material, probably in the old church.

Its present measurements are fourteen inches by seven and a half inches, and two and a quarter inches thick. Originally, to judge from the inscription on the edge and the designs on the face, it must have been at least thirty-six inches long by about eleven inches wide. Both faces show the cross without circle, the limbs undecorated, and the form of cross long and narrow—what I have called the Andreas type.

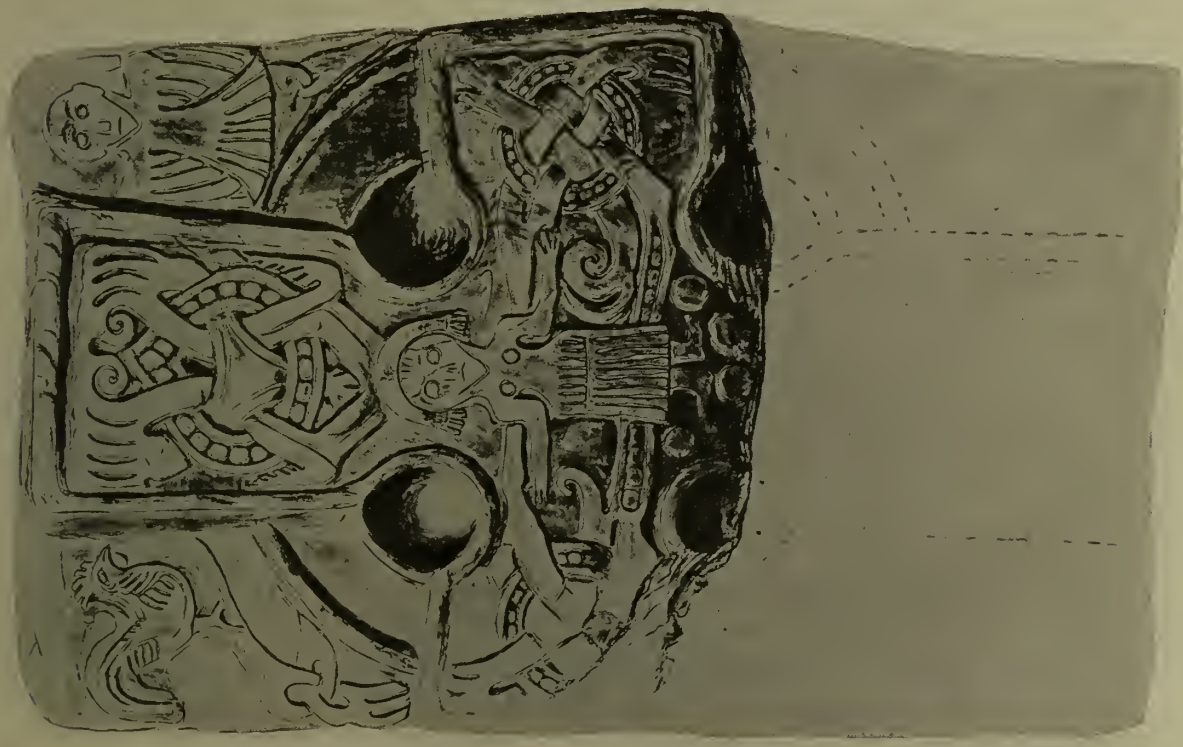
A. The head is plain, with an incised linear crosslet in a small central circle. The shaft has the ring-chain pattern so finely cut as to be little more than an engraving, terminating in a small cross, the limbs of which split and interlace in such a way as to give the appearance of a fylfot in the centre. The ends of the uppermost buckle, or V-shaped tongue of the pattern, instead of meeting above in a ring, are prolonged in two out-curving horns. The upper limb and the space to the left of the shaft are broken away; the space to the right bears the figure of a man, bare-headed, nude, armed with a spear; on his right shoulder rests a raven. His right foot is in the jaws of a wolf, whose head he has seized in his left hand, while with his right he plunges the spear into its breast. Below the wolf, and behind and above the man's head and at the back of the raven, are writhing, knotted serpents.

Here, certainly, we have a view of Ragnarök, when Odin, father of the gods, is swallowed by the Fenris wolf, which immediately afterwards is slain by his son, Vidar the Silent. So we are told by the wise woman in *Völuspa*:—"The Ash of the steed of the Hanged One shall quiver, and there shall be no part of heaven and earth that shall not then tremble for fear. The Anses shall put on their harness, and all the host of the Elect (*Einherjarnir*), and go forth to the field. Odin shall ride first with his golden helm and his fair mail-coat, and his spear that is called *Gungnir*. He shall challenge the wolf *Fenri*. . . . The Wolf shall swallow Odin, and that shall be his bane." The Sybil goes on to relate how "straightway Vidar shall dash forward and rend the Wolf's jaws asunder, and that shall be its death. . . . Thereupon Swart shall cast fire over the earth and burn the whole world. And every living thing shall suffer death . . . and the Powers shall perish!"

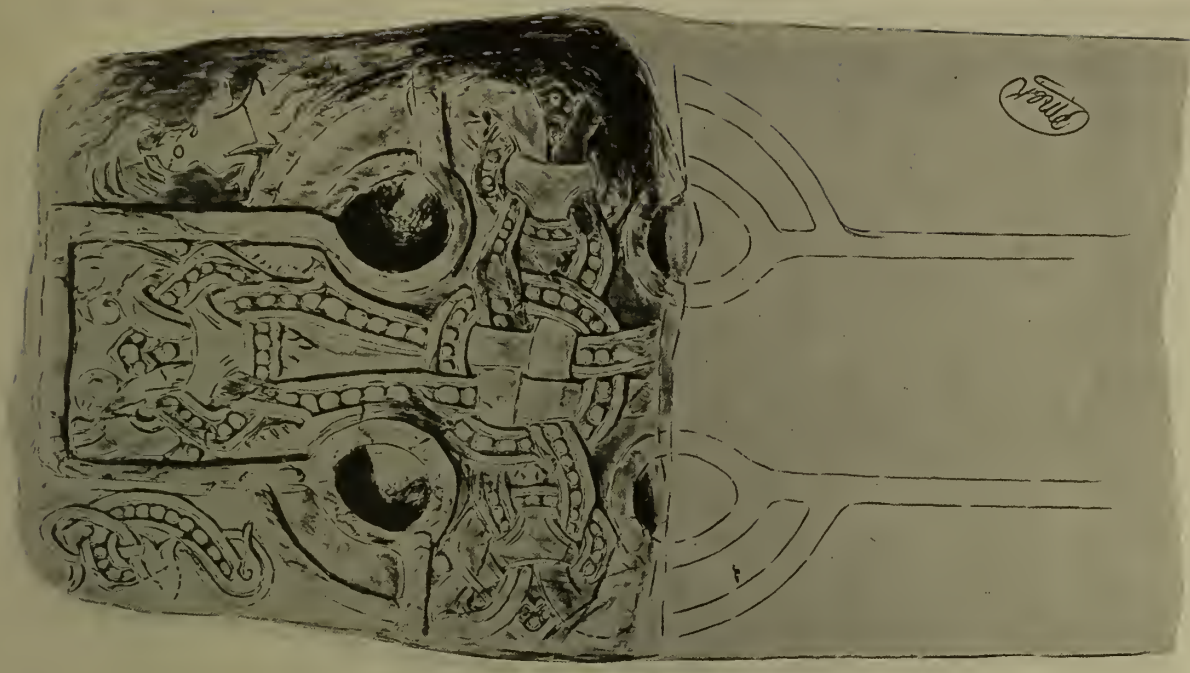
Above the remaining arm of the cross is a curious square pattern, which looks at first sight like the interlaced ring design—namely, a ring folding in four external loops, interlaced



101C

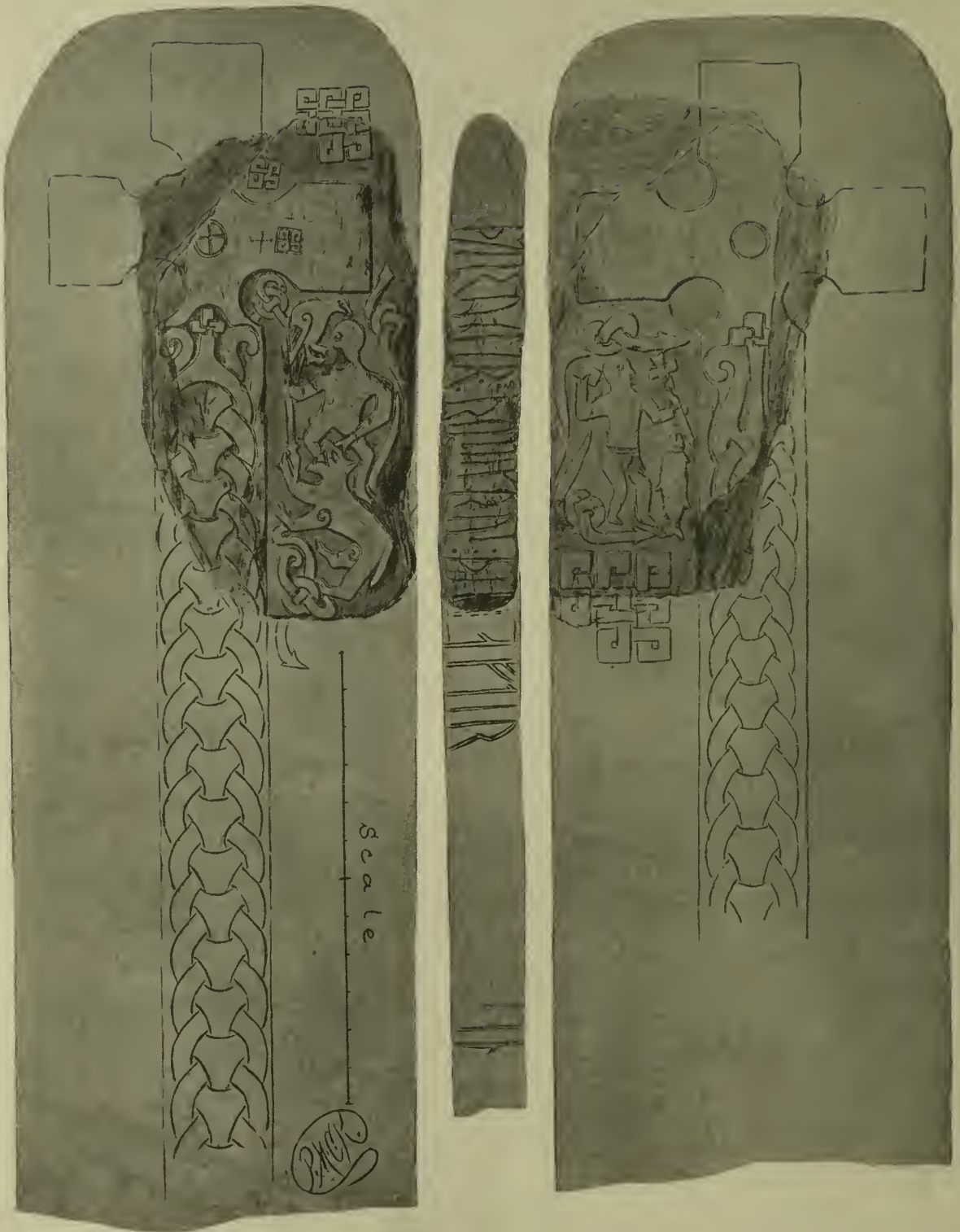


101B



101A

FIGURE SUBJECTS.
(101C, B, A) Michael. Erected to a relative of Grim the Black.



102A

102C

102B

FIGURE SUBJECTS.

(102A, C, B) Thorwald's Cross, showing Olin and the Fenris Wolf, Andreas.

with vertical and horizontal oval rings—but upon examination we notice that the loop is missing in one corner, and then we see that the whole resolves itself into a single ring so folded on itself as to form seven external loops, all square. There is a small four-fold ring in the upper recess at the junction of the limbs, and one still smaller on the arms, which looks as if it had been added later. The design in the lower recess is a single rounded loop interlaced with a circular ring.

B. This face has a cross of similar form to the last, but the circle connecting the limbs is suggested in the outline of the shallow recess. The shaft has had the ring-chain pattern, terminating in a small cross as on the last, but on a larger scale, the curving horns suggesting the figure of a lyre. The head is plain but for an incised central ring. The space to the right is broken off; that to the left is occupied by the figure of a man, belted, bare-headed, with pointed beard, his face turned to the cross; in his left hand he holds up a cross, in his right a book. In front of him is a fish with collar round its gills. Above the man's head, and below his feet, are knotted worms or serpents. Below, we have on a larger scale the square seven-looped ring design as on the other face. The carving on both faces is the sixteenth of an inch in relief; the hollow recess at the arms only an eighth of an inch.

As the last face certainly illustrates the Norse Mythology, so this is certainly Christian. On the one the artist has depicted the closing scene of the old religion, the end of the high gods; on the other he proclaims the new—

Then there shall come One yet mightier,
Though Him I dare not name.

And as the knotted serpents in the first were a figuring of the toils and troubles of Ragnarök, so here they witness the triumph of Christ over the Devil, the treading on the adders, or bruising the serpent's head. The fish, I cannot doubt, is in this instance the well-known Christian symbol founded on the Greek acrostic of the word—*ἰχθῦς*.¹ Christ has overcome the powers of evil, and He now reigns in Odin's stead.

C. The inscription is on the edge as usual, but runs down instead of up. The runes, about two inches long, with the lines a sixteenth of an inch wide and deep, though clear, are not cut with precision, the first character especially showing unsteadiness of hand. The words are divided by three instead of by two dots:—

ThURUALTR : RAISTI KRUS : ThO . . .
THORWALD ERECTED THIS CROSS . . .

Thorwald is a rare Runic man's name. It is an early form as to the last syllable of the common English Walter; O. E., Wald-here; Norse, Icel, Wald (a) r; O. Germ., Waldhar.

Besides our four Sigurd pieces, then, we have at least six (and know not how many are lost) which figure scenes and characters from the Old Norse and the Viking Mythology. They are of exceptional interest, for rarely indeed do we meet with them elsewhere, and nowhere do we find such a series as we have in the Isle of Man.

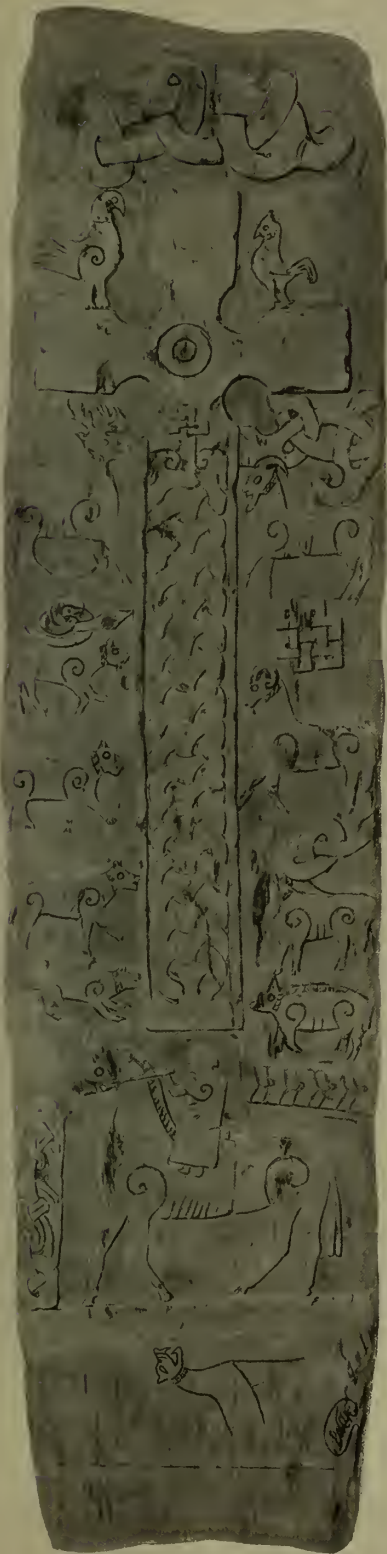
¹ *Ἰησοῦς, Χριστὸς, Θεοῦ, Υἱὸς, Σωτήρ*—Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour. In the Catacombs this symbol occurs with anchor and with dove, to signify hope or peace in Christ. The fish was regarded also by the early Christian Church as a symbol of Baptism (see *Christian Symbolism*, p. 123).

103.—Andreas. Plate liii.—Camden's *Britannia*, Gough Ed., pl. 7; Gibson Ed., pl. 4, p. 1458. Kinnebrook, 9. Cumming, 9a, b.

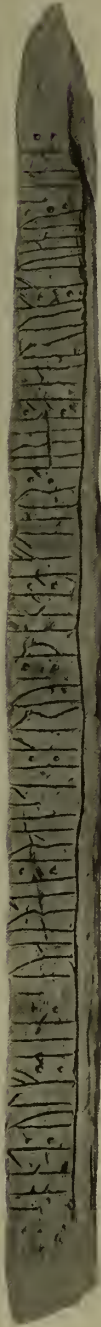
This piece stood for many years in the churchyard, Kirk Andreas, about seven yards west of the tower. In 1886 it was placed in the porch, and is now set up with the rest on the north side of the church. It is a rectangular slab, seventy-six inches long by fifteen to seventeen inches wide, and from four and a half to five and a half inches thick. Each face bears a long-shafted Celtic cross without circle.

A. On one face the cross measures as follows: head, seven inches by three and three-quarter inches; arms, six and three-quarter inches by three and a half inches wide; shaft, thirty-eight inches by three and three-quarter inches, tapering to the foot by about five-eighths of an inch. The head and arms are plain, with two concentric rings incised in the centre. The shaft is bordered on the left by a narrow step-pattern, on the right by a key-fret, and is covered by a close and regular plait-of-five, the carving of which is rather angular. Above the head of the cross is a horizontal band with plait-of-four, and immediately below the foot another band ornamented with twist-and-ring, double-beaded. The latter, like the shaft of which it may be regarded as the pedestal, has narrow borders, key-pattern above, step-pattern below. Above each arm is a bird; that on the right is distinctly a cock, that on the left a hen, unless intended for some other species, the head being more like that of a dove. The spaces at either side of the shaft are occupied by various beasts, their feet towards the shaft, their heads to the head of the cross. On the left may be seen a stag pursued by a dog, the latter having a collar of step-pattern. Below, a square ring and buckle design separates it from the next, which is the figure of a man on horseback, armed with a club; at the back of this a design of two rings interlaced. Below is a wild boar followed by a long-horned ox. On the right is a goat followed by a wolf, with a collar of step-pattern round its neck; at its back a hound also having a collar and running in the opposite direction; below is a hind, and below that a bear with collar. All the animals have the small spirals at the junction of the limbs—in the stag and horse they are in a direction opposite to that generally seen; hair or bristles are represented by short scores; they face the head of the cross, their feet towards the shaft. The collars are decorated with step-pattern. The carving is from a sixteenth to an eighth of an inch in relief, the cross one-eighth of an inch.

B. This face bears a similar cross of slightly different proportions:—head and arms six and three-quarter inches and six and a half inches by three and a half inches wide; shaft, twenty-nine inches by four inches, expanding to four and a quarter inches at the foot. The head is plain, with two concentric circles incised in the centre. The shaft, bordered by a plain bead, has the ring-chain pattern, terminated at the top by a small Latin cross with limbs split, and interlaced so as to give the appearance of a fylfot in the centre. Above the head is a ring so looped upon itself as to form a figure of two triquetras back to back with a central loop between them; the right end has the addition of a little flourish to fill in the space. Above the right arm is a cock, above the other another bird with a collar. On the space to the left of the cross is a stag, a knotted serpent, a wolf, a bear, another wolf, below which either a third wolf or perhaps a dog; the last four have collars. The space at the other side of the shaft shows at the top a figure like that above the head of the cross, but without the central loop, and having a spiral flourish at the right lower corner.



103B



103C



103A

FIGURE SUBJECTS.

(103B, C, A) Sandulf Cross, Andreas.

Below this we have in succession a goat, separated by a square looped-ring design from a ram; a knotted serpent, the head flaked off except for one eye remaining; an ox and a boar; these also have collars. All the animals stand facing the shaft of the cross. Just below the cross is a robed figure on horseback, the left hand on the reins, the right stroking the horse's mane. At the back projects the point of the saddle, and the saddle-cloth is shown. In front of the horse is a short perpendicular band with tendril pattern double-beaded. Above the back of the horse, between it and the figure of the boar, is a curious device of buckles. Below the horse I discovered, on first taking up the stone, a distinct but faintly-incised figure of a hound with collar.

It is difficult to say whether the animals figured on this slab are anything more than decorative. The pairs of birds and the hunting of stags and boars, as on stones before described, have, I think, upon all these Manx monuments lost their symbolic significance and become a conventional decorative treatment. With respect to the other animals, a Norseman might see in the wolves Geri and Freki, whom Odin feeds at his table; in the hart, Eikthyrnir, which bites the boughs of the sacred Tree; in the goats, possibly Heiðrun, which stands above Valhalla, from which the champions derive their mead; and in the boar, Sæhrimnir, "sodden every day and whole again at even." Even the serpents might be taken to refer to Hvergelmir, under one of the roots of Yggdrasil's Ash, where "so many worms are lying." So, too, the robed figure on horseback suggests Gná, "whom Frigg sendeth into many worlds on her errands; she hath the horse that runneth through air and water hight Hófvargr." The great hound below is surely Garm.

C. The inscription running up the edge of the stone is in clearly cut runes about three inches long, the lines a sixteenth of an inch wide and deep.

SONT : ULF : HIN : SUARTI : RAISTI : KRUS : THONA : AFTIR :
ARIN : BIAURK : KUINU : SINA

SANDULF THE BLACK ERECTED THIS CROSS TO THE MEMORY OF ARINBJÖRG HIS WIFE.

Sandúlfr is a very rare Scando-Gothic man's name only here found in runes. Vigfusson, who takes SONT for *Santh*¹ (sooth, true), says it is only once met with in the Icelandic Sagas, and never in Iceland. The final R is omitted, as frequently happens. Arinbjörg is a rare woman's name. It occurs on the Gryta stone, Upland, Sweden, in the form Arn Burk; both names being compound are here divided by the marks which separate different words. Vigfusson took the second letter in THONA to be "clearly þ as at Conchan," but in both instances this appearance is certainly due to flakes or cracks in the stone, and the letter is distinctly þ, which here stands for nasalized A. In the second name AU represents ö.

104.—**Michael.** Plate liv.—Camden's *Britannia*, Gough's Ed. (No. 6); Gibson's Ed. (No. 1). Kinnebrook, 4. Cumming, 28, 29. Kermodé, *Traces of the Norse Myth.*, p. 21, pl. v.

This beautiful slab still stands on the wall, north side of the churchyard gates, Michael, where it was when etched by Kinnebrook in 1841. It measures sixty-nine and a half inches long by seventeen inches wide, tapering to fourteen inches, and from three to four inches thick.

¹ M. N. B., evidently a misprint. The word should be *samr*, or *saðr* (see *Icelandic Dictionary*, Cleasby and Vigfusson),

One face only is sculptured, and bears a cross of the usual form, but the limbs with more widely expanded curved recesses, connected by a true circle. The cross measures thirty-six inches long; the head, eight and three-quarter inches by five and an eighth inches; arms, a quarter of an inch shorter, but the same width; shaft, twenty-seven and a quarter inches by five and a half inches, tapering to five and an eighth inches at the foot. The circle, about two and a quarter inches wide, is seventeen inches in outer diameter. The circle, otherwise plain, is bordered by cable-moulding, and the plain bead-moulding of the cross has cable pattern where it borders the shaft, terminating at the foot in the head and tail of a serpent, knotted, the eyes small and round, the snout sharply pointed.

The cross is decorated with interlaced work in panels. In the centre is a flat disc bordered by a narrow cable, outside of which is a very beautiful circle of ring-chain pattern—the only instance of its use in such a form. The narrow neck of each limb contains the design of two diagonal oval rings interlaced with a plain square one; the square ends of the limbs contain designs of four triquetras formed of continuous bands, double-beaded. On the shaft, immediately below the triquetra design, is a panel with plait-of-nine, formed by a single band with loose ends, beginning at the right-hand lower corner, and ending halfway down the right side; in the middle is a horizontal break, adding lightness and variety. Below, separated by a blank space, about two and a half inches wide, is another panel with plait-of-seven, formed by a continuous band, beginning from the middle of the right side.

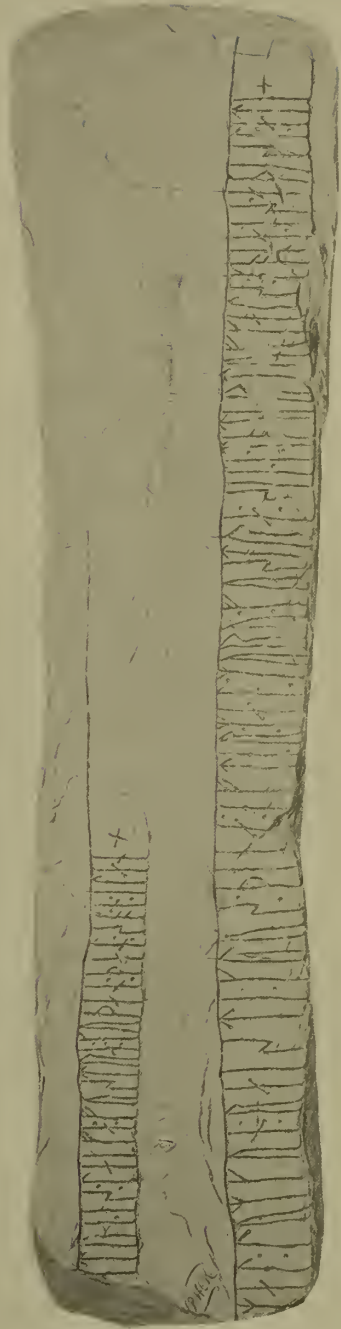
The space to the left of the shaft has, just under the circle, a stag with a hound at its back seizing it under the ear; the hound has a collar decorated by a row of dots. Below is a figure robed to the ankles, the left arm raised, the right extended and resting on the handle of a Tau-shaped staff. At the other side of the shaft is the figure of an animal, which Cumming suggests may have been a lamb, its feet folded under its body—"the long tail of which passes over the head of the harper and hangs down his back." The head is broken off, but there can be no doubt this was a stag, with long neck and upright antlers, something like that on the left of the shaft, and the remains of the pursuing hound may be distinguished above. Below this is the figure of a man seated on the ground, playing on a harp of four strings. He is belted and arrayed in tight-fitting garments. Though worn, the features may be traced, and show in profile a finely-shaped head with over-hanging eyebrows and a pointed beard, wearing a curious double cap. In front, now almost worn away, close examination in a favourable light reveals a robed figure with outstretched arm, holding a large drinking horn in its hand. Below the harper is another robed figure standing with arms uplifted in the attitude of blessing, his right hand holding up a Tau-headed staff. Like the figure on the other side, though presented full face, the feet are turned towards the cross.

The carving is only the sixteenth of an inch in relief, the centre ornament scarcely more than an engraving. The cross stands out three-eighths of an inch, reduced to one-eighth at the bottom; the circle a quarter of an inch; the flat, hollow recesses are sunk three-quarters of an inch.

A remarkable thing is that, below the sculpturing on the right, has been cut an Ogam Alphabet, of which my figure, in order to give the delicate carving on as large a scale as



104A



104B

FIGURE SUBJECTS.

(104A) Mal Lumkun Cross, Michael, upper portion of face showing the end of Ogam Alphabet; (B) back of same, complete, on smaller scale, showing the two Inscriptions in the Runes and the worn Ogam Inscription in the middle of the slab near the top.

the space will allow, just shows the top of the containing rectangular panel and the last of the Ogam characters. For figure and description of them see page 101, A.

The figure-drawing is not equal to the geometrical, which is beautifully executed; the human figures are rather better than the animals. The robed ecclesiastics as well as the hunted stags are Celtic and Christian in character. The harper, taken by itself, might be supposed to refer to King David. On a stone at Monifieth, Forfarshire,¹ is a harper seated on a chair or throne, which may be so intended. Above, in that case, are figures of men with drinking-horns. In our Michael cross, however, we are bound to take the robed figure with the drinking horn in connection with the harper. The inscription, if nothing else, shows this to be the work of a Scandinavian sculptor, and as we have seen, several of our crosses display undoubted references to the Norse Mythology. There is a lost story of the Viking age, known by one or two references, as, for example, in *Völuspa*—"There Eggtheow the gladsome, the Giantess's harper, sat on a mound tuning his harp." In the female figure we may surely see one of the Valkyries offering welcome. A fine heathen block, carved in relief, figured by Stephens (*O. N. R. Mon.*, i., p. 224, and ii., p. 708), who judged from the inscription that it must date between 700 and 800, shows a robed figure offering a drinking-horn to a man seated on an eight-footed steed—undoubtedly Odin on Sleipnir. This was found at Tjängvide, South-East Gotland, in Sweden. Another block, also in relief, with inscription in Scandinavian runes, which Stephens takes to be "a century or two younger than the Tjängvide stone," is figured by him (vol. ii., p. 708). Again we see a robed figure offering a drinking-horn to one on horseback, armed with a long spear, whom we recognize as Odin. This was found at Habblingbo, South Gotland. Now the Michael cross, as is evident from its inscription, was carved by a Swede, and both of these monuments were likely to have been known to him. But that in these cases the offerings were to Odin, suggests the possibility that our artist may have had in his mind one of the high gods, namely, Bragi, God of Poetry, who was indeed a son and another incarnation of Odin.

B. The other face of the stone is occupied by the inscriptions, two in runes and one in Ogams. Of the latter we have already given an account (see *ante*, p. 101, **B**, and pl. liv.). As regards the runes, Cumming figures and describes the short inscription as having belonged to a separate stone, showing that he was only acquainted with it, as he appears to have been with some others, through the casts which his Italian made for him. He wrongly figures the long one as commencing on the left side of the slab, running across the bottom and up the right side (which certainly could not have appeared by his casts). In Gough's (No. 6) and Gibson's (No. 1, p. 1458) editions of Camden's *Britannia*, however, to which he refers, the two are shown in their proper relative positions on the one stone.

The runes are long and thin, not, as in many cases, deeply chiselled, but rather as if cut by a knife, being about four and three-quarter inches long, and in the short inscription three inches; the lines a sixteenth of an inch wide and deep. Though worn near the top of the stone, they are nearly all decipherable. The main inscription runs up the right side of the slab from the bottom to the top, and reads:—

¹ *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, fig. 275a.

MAL : LUMKUN : RAISTI : KRUS : ThENA : EFTER : MAL : MURU : FUSTRA :
 SINE : TOTIR TUFKALS : KONA : IS : ATHISL : ATI ×
 MAEL-LOMCHON ERECTED THIS CROSS TO THE MEMORY OF MAL-MURA HIS FOSTER [MOTHER],
 DAUGHTER OF DUGALD, THE WIFE WHOM ATHISL HAD.

On the left side of the slab, also beginning at the bottom, we read:—

B]ETRA : ES : LAIFA : FUSTRA : KUTHAN : THAN : SON : ILAN ×
 BETTER IS IT TO LEAVE A GOOD FOSTER THAN A BAD SON.

This sentence, as suggested by Vigfusson, may have been added by the sculptor as his own judgment of the foster-son's piety.

Mael Lomchon (S. Lomchon's servant) is a known Irish name, as is that of his foster-mother, Maolmuire (Mary's servant); so, too, Dufgal, Dugald, is a well-known Celtic man's name. But the name of the husband, Athisl, is more remarkable, though not so rare as Vigfusson imagined.¹ Not only was it the name of "the old king Athisl of Upsala, supposed to have lived in the fourth or fifth century"; it appears in Denmark on a block from Vordingborg, Sealand, about 600 to 700 (*O. N. R. Mon.*, i., 336); and Professor S. Bugge gives it as Swedish and Danish. In Beowulf it is given as Eádgisl, Norse Auðgisl, which form occurs five or six times in the Icelandic Sagas.

Munch has pointed out that there are here several glaring grammatical errors: FUSTRA is the masculine, standing for FUSTRU, fem. acc.; TOTIR, the nominative ought to be accusative dóttur. As regards the reading in the fifth word, Munch, Cumming and Kneale take E the first vowel being represented on the stone by ThENA for A, but Vigfusson rightly reads the stung-rune †, which here stands for E, not for H. Cumming and Kneale read I for E in the second vowel of EFTER, and the last letter of SINE is taken by all these authorities to be A, though the dot in the stung-rune is distinct. In the word TOTIR, both Munch and Vigfusson regard the fourth letter as E, but there is certainly no dot in the stem-line. In KONA Vigfusson mistakes the second vowel for O, but the character-stroke for A is clear. The vowel of the word IS is very worn; had it been an O, however, some trace of the character-strokes must have been still visible, and there is no dot in the stem-line to justify Vigfusson's reading, E. I took it at first to be an A, but the dot, which looked like the end of the character-stroke, certainly belongs to the preceding punctuation mark; we must, therefore, read I, as was done by Kneale. As regards the motto on the left side of the slab, the first letter is broken off, but the next shows the stung-rune, and is, therefore, E, not I, as read by Munch, who, no doubt by accident, omits the word THAN. Of this, Vigfusson writes—the initial þ dropped in the North as early as the eighth or ninth century:—"It is the only instance in the whole range of old Norse literature of the initial þ being retained in this word; and it must be accounted for in this instance by English influence (which must always have been felt in the Isle of Man) rather than by antiquity, for the initial þ dropped out of this word in the North as early, at least, as the eighth or ninth century."² The O is distinct in the next to the last word instead of U, as read by Munch and Kneale, which is

¹ *The Surnames and Place-names of the Isle of Man* (A. W. Moore), p. 111.

² *Manx Note Book*, January, 1887, p. 7.

our ordinary spelling of SUN. The spelling ES for ER, the Norse form of the twelfth century, Vigfusson thinks may be a survival due to proximity with England

In the section "Inscriptions," we have seen that the runes for S, A, N, T, in this inscription differ from those on all our other pieces; also that as in a few other cases, the stung-rune | stands for E, not H. The language has been thought to be more recent, as Vigfusson says, "We are in a transition period between the old and new in grammar." I have no doubt, however, that Professor Bugge has rightly explained it when he says, "the difference is of another kind. Mallumkun's inscription is Swedish, while all the other Manx inscriptions of the group to which Gaut's belong, are Norwegian." He points out that THAN appears in inscriptions on the Swedish mainland and in Gothland (*Rydqvist*, v., 171). The form AS is found in Swedish, Lilj, 895 (Söderm); 1342 (Vestergötl), but not, so far as he knows, in Norwegian. Finally, the name Aðisl is Swedish and Danish.

105.—Michael. Plate lv.—*Arch. Scot.* (1822), part 2. Kinnebrook, 1. Cumming, 13a, b, c, d.

This very perfect slab may be taken as a type of monuments of this class. It is set on the horse block in front of the church gates at Michael, where it was placed when the present entrance was made, about 1850. Before that it had stood for some time "on the roadside in the middle of the village, near the northern corner of the churchyard," where it was seen by Kinnebrook. Bishop Wilson refers to it in his *History of the Isle of Man*, and figures it almost correctly. Imperfect drawings appeared also in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. ii., pp. 75, 76. It is a rectangular slab, eighty-eight inches above the surface, and probably twenty-four to thirty inches below, by nineteen to twenty inches wide, and five to seven inches thick. Each face shows a cross of the usual form, but the shaft on face A rather long in proportion. The limbs are connected by a circle, approximately true.

A. The cross and inner edge of the circle are bordered by a plain bead; another, round the outer edge of the circle, makes a double border to the shaft, terminating at the foot in single volutes of five coils, around which the outer moulding of the shaft is continued, with double volutes in three coils at the junction of cross and circle. The cross measures as follows:—head and arms, eight and a half inches long by six inches wide; shaft, forty-eight inches by seven and a quarter inches under the circle, to seven and three-quarter inches at the foot. The upper limb expands by half an inch at the top, the left arm tapers by as much.

The whole cross is closely covered with a plait-of-eight. From the centre of the circle three bands are brought down and continued in the shaft with five others. In the head the plait is rather involved, but in the shaft is perfectly regular, the monotony of the long narrow space relieved by four breaks at uneven distances, suggesting an appearance of five panels. At the foot, one band turns within and parallel to the next, which is the outside one. In executing this plait, the sculptor appears to have marked the points of intersection by drilled holes, which were then connected by lines, reminding one of the work on the cross-shaft at Beckermeth, St. John's, Cumberland.¹ Above the circle, each corner

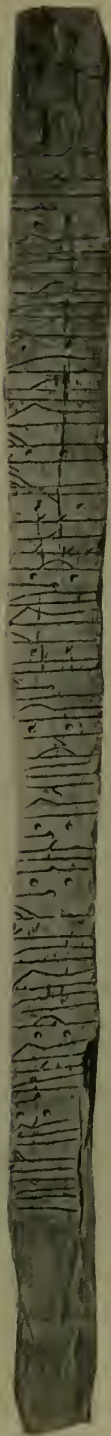
¹ *Crosses, etc., Carlisle*, p. 38.

is occupied by a triquetra, bordered and decorated by diagonal lines, giving the appearance of angular pellets. Immediately below the circle the spaces between it and the volutes contain two other triquetras, double-beaded. Beneath each volute is a beautiful decorative cross design—a small Celtic cross formed by four double bands plaited, the limbs connected by a circle, that on the left ornamented with diagonal scores, the other double-beaded. The bands which compose the shaft diverge at the foot, terminating in two triquetra knots, back to back. Below each of these crosses is a large boss containing a device of four detached triquetras, double-beaded, and so arranged as to give the appearance at once of a cross and of a circle. Below, to the left of the shaft, are two stags, each pursued by a hound at its back. On the other side of the shaft is a man on horseback followed by a riderless horse. All the animals have their backs to the cross, their heads pointing upwards. The space immediately below the cross is occupied by two dragon figures, the scales represented by square pellets. Each has a long top-knot, which interlaces round the shoulders, looping up the single fore-paw, then passing on to the head of the other. The tails are interlaced through a ring, and the single hind leg comes down to loop in the interlacing bands. Below this a broad band crosses the slab, having plain bead borders, and occupied by a form of step-pattern, the angles rounded off. Below is the figure of a stag with a hound at its back, now badly worn.

The carving on this face is from an eighth to three-sixteenths of an inch in relief; the cross and border of the circle, three-sixteenths of an inch; and the hollow recesses sunk seven-eighths of an inch. The circle, about four inches wide, is nineteen inches in outer diameter.

B. This face shows a cross of very similar proportions:—head and arms, about nine and a quarter inches long by six and a half inches wide; shaft, fifty-three inches by seven and a half inches, expanding to nine and a half inches at the foot. The circle, two and a half inches wide, measures eighteen and a quarter inches in outer circumference. As on the other face it is plain, with a bead border, but the limbs project beyond by about half an inch.

The shaft is decorated with the double twist and diamond-shaped ring design, elaborately ornamented and terminating in a peculiar manner—each of the double bands, joining in one, forms a broad fillet which loops under the border of the foot of the shaft, to return inwards and extend beyond the side, so as to form a spiral or volute of two coils. The treatment of the head is that favoured by Gaut, the lower limb also having the V-shaped loop-ending, from which starts the plait down the shaft. The rings and outer bands have been decorated with diagonal lines between incised borders. The space to the left of the shaft shows a bearded man on horseback, followed by a spare horse. Below is the figure of a man standing, now too broken to decipher clearly, and an indication of a fourth figure below that. On the right is a bull and a ram, butting with their horns; below, a bird conventionally figured, which may stand for almost any species; below, a horse. All the animals on this face are represented with their feet to the cross; their heads, excepting the bull, towards its head. Above the cross is the well-drawn figure of a stag followed by a hound, of which only the lines of the back and chest can now be traced. At the back of the stag is a bird settling, pursued by a larger one.



105D

105A

105C

105B

FIGURE SUBJECTS.

(105D, A, C, B) Joalf Cross-slab, Michael, Scale $\frac{1}{11}$ (nearly).

The carving on this face is in bolder relief than on the other—from one-fourth to three-eighths of an inch. It is interesting to note how the sculptor has taken advantage of the inequalities of the stone in his patterns and designs; it was not weakened by any grinding down or smoothing of the surface.

Here, as generally elsewhere, the figures have no necessary connection one with another. So the flying birds above the cross may have nothing to do with the stag; and it might be that the artist had in mind an eagle chasing a falcon, in reference to Odin's adventure in the recovery of the holy mead, the soma-draught, source of inspiration and of poetry. But whether this was so or not there is certainly in the other figures no indication of any purpose other than that of pure decoration.

C. The edge, which is unusually broad, is also sculptured, the carving from three-sixteenths to a quarter of an inch in relief, and the design highly finished and decorated. At the top is the well-drawn figure of a cock, and below a twist with diamond-shaped rings, which, about three-quarters of the way down, is broken by the omission of a ring, the bands being here brought down side by side, and looped together through circular buckles. The rings and the bands within them are pelleted, the outer portions of the bands being double-beaded; they are ornamented also with notches and incised spirals, which, together with the interlaced dragons on the face A, seem to connect this with the Braddan pillar crosses, 108, 109.

D. The other edge bears the inscription. At the top is the figure of a warrior, an eighth of an inch in relief, perhaps representing Joalf, who erected the cross. He stands in ring-mail, belted, in his right hand a spear, in his left a small round shield showing a central boss. He wears a long beard. Between his legs is incised a Latin cross, intended mainly as a mark of the termination of the inscription. The inscription is in large and well-cut runes, about five and three-quarters of an inch long, the lines three-sixteenths of an inch wide, and from a sixteenth to an eighth of an inch deep. A break on the edge of the stone from the tail of the R in SUNR (on a line with the top of the volute to the shaft on face A) has caused the artist to shorten the runes below this to three and three-quarter inches. It is well preserved, and reads as follows:—

+ JUALFIR : SUNR : THURULFS : HINS : RAUTHA : RISTI : KRUS : THONO :
AFT : FRITHU : MUTHUR : SINO +

JOALF, SON OF THOROLF THE RED, ERECTED THIS CROSS TO THE MEMORY OF FRITHA, HIS MOTHER.

Vigfusson curiously misread the first word as AULAFIR.¹ On a second visit to the Island, however, he called at my father's rectory—Ballaugh—expressly to inform me that this and some other slips in his readings were due to his hasty visit. Professor Bugge suggests that "the I before R distinctly makes the half sound of E which has been developed late," and instances a corresponding written form in OSLAIKIR on the Frerslev stone, Sjælland, of the first half of the ninth century. But he thinks that as that inscription preserves so much of the antique, the half tone of E might in IR possibly be there the weakening of an original nasalized A. Munch and Vigfusson read THANA for THONO; but the fourth rune, for nasal A,

¹ *Manx Note Book*, January 7th, 1887, p. 12.

is particularly clear in both vowels, as it is also at the end of the last word, which Cumming and Vigfusson mistake for A.

On the broken edge at the bottom, worn by the rubbing of sheep, are some feebly-cut scribbled runes from about an inch to two and a half inches long, which, however, do not appear to have any meaning. They occupy eight inches, the highest being on a level with the stem line of the U in SUNR. It seems to begin IMU, and higher up one recognises THUR; altogether they look as if they had been cut by someone trying to imitate characters unintelligible to him. (See plate lvi.)¹

This cross appears to me to be the work of a new artist. In the Sandulf cross, Andreas 103, we have seen numbers of animals at either side of the shaft, and there are some other resemblances. The animals have the small spirals at the junction of the limbs, and some have been ornamented with a few fine scores on the ribs. But though both use the stung-rune for H, the one spells RAISTI where the other has RISTI, which would not be done by the same man. Apart from its larger size, the whole treatment of Joalf's slab is bolder and freer. The crosses themselves are of a different type, the geometrical drawing much finer. There is nothing suggestive of the characteristic Scandinavian loop-knots above the cross-head and below the circle of the Andreas piece, nor of the square loop design at the sides of the shaft; nor has the Sandulf cross anything resembling the dragon figures on face A of this one.¹

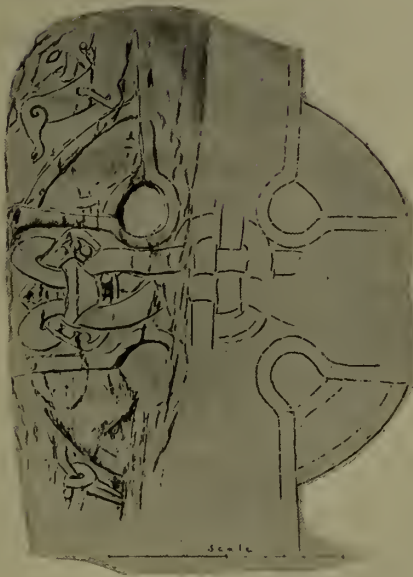
106.—Maughold. Plate lvi.—From Ballagilley, Maughold, the site of an old Keeil and burial-ground off the high-road to Douglas, about two miles from Ramsey, we have a very small fragment found in 1869, now in the museum at Castle Rushen. It measures about eight inches by seven inches, and one inch thick, having been flaked off the face of what must have been a large and handsome monument. The owner of Ballagilley, Rev. S. N. Harrison, has had diligent search made in the neighbourhood, even pulling down portions of field walls for the purpose, but has been unable to recover any other portion.

What remains shows the fore part of a boar, well executed in flat relief of a quarter to five-eighths of an inch. It has a spiral at the junction of the forelimbs with the body, and the bristles are represented by scores down the back. Doubtless this was one of a series of figures at one side of the shaft of a cross, as we have seen on the Joalf cross; it is on even a larger scale than those. The edge shows distinctly the tops of four runes, which, however, are too broken to be deciphered.

107.—Jurby. Plate lvi.—This is one of the pieces referred to before (p. 159) as found by me on the wall of Jurby Churchyard. It measures twenty-six inches by ten and a half inches, and four and a quarter inches thick. Each face has been carved, and shows the remains of the head of a cross with circle.

A. The head was fourteen and a half or fifteen inches long, slightly expanding, the arms eleven inches by seven and three-quarter inches to eight and three-quarter inches. Both cross and circle were bordered by a narrow, flat bead. The left arm shows Gaut's V-shaped loop design, the ring pelleted. The circle has been ornamented with an open plait. Just below the circle the space shows remains of a loop-plait. Above the circle are

¹ I have heard that this stone was brought originally from a field on the Vicar's glebe, near Cronk Crore.



105E

107A

107B

FIGURE SUBJECTS.

(105E) Scribble-runes below inscription on Joalf Cross, Michael; (106) Fragment from Ballagilley, Maughold, with edge showing tops of runes; (107A, B) Fragment of Cross-head from Jurby.

figures of a stag and a boar. The carving is from a sixteenth to an eighth of an inch in relief; the circle, half an inch; cross, five-eighths of an inch. The hollow recesses between the limbs are only a quarter of an inch deep.

B. On this face the circle is plain with a bead border. The right arm shows indications of Gaut's treatment. Above is a double triquetra knot, bordered by a fine line, with flourishes and pellets. The surface is more worn than on the other face, so that the circle is only a quarter of an inch in relief.

108.—**Braddan.** Plate lvii.—Camden, Gough's Ed., iv., 150. *Trans. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. ii., part ii., Ed. 1831, p. 492. *Archæol. Scot.*, 1822, part ii. Kinnebrook, 21. Cumming, 22a, b, c, d.

This is perhaps the best known of our crosses, and has been frequently figured. It is literally a cross, not a cross-slab, like almost all the others. Train speaks of it¹ as "at the entrance of Braddan Churchyard, forming a stile," apparently confusing it with Braddan 56, for he quotes also Mr. Just, of Manchester, who writes, 1843: "In the centre of the churchyard Mr. Bally found an upright stone cross. . . . After carefully cleaning and washing the lime and dust out of the indentations," etc., referring evidently to this stone.

It is our first and only remaining instance of a Scandinavian monument, cruciform in outline, consisting of a long, slender shaft and head, with limbs extending slightly beyond the connecting circle, the hollow at the intersection of the limbs pierced, being in form the most highly developed and perfect example of a "Celtic" cross. The material is a fine blue slate, probably from Spanish Head.

It measures eighty-four inches (of which twenty-seven inches is a tongue-shaped prolongation for insertion through a socket into the ground) by nine and a half inches across the arms as now broken—originally it must evidently have been about twelve inches—and five and three quarter inches, expanding to nine inches, across the fust, or pillar. It is three inches wide at the top, expanding below to seven and a half. The "entasis," or slight widening and thickening in the middle, adds greatly to the artistic effect of the monument.

A. It will be noticed that the design on the head, consisting of cross, approximately equal-limbed, and circle, is distinctly separated from that on the fust or shaft which it crowns. The left arm and that portion of the circle are missing. Gaut's treatment is followed in the design, the crossed bands, double-beaded, terminating in the head and arms in a design of two diagonal oval rings interlaced, and extended with a right-angled bend or fold. In the lower limb the two bands cross and form a perfect triquetra, that on the right throwing out an interlacing tendril. The proportions of the cross itself are as follows:—head, seven and a quarter inches by three inches; arms, six and a half inches by two and three-quarters to three and an eighth inches; lower limb, seven inches, expanding from two and a quarter, where it touches the inside of the circle, to five inches, and extending an inch and a half below the outside border of the circle. The circle, two inches wide, is about twelve inches in outer circumference.

Cross and circle are bordered by a flat bead-moulding, the circle ornamented by a plain twist, rather angular. Below the circle, at each corner, is a small pellet.

¹ *History of the Isle of Man*, ii., 32-35.

The fust, bordered by a cable-moulding, is decorated with four dragons, three of them head downwards, the lowest with head turned up; these have tails and top-knots elaborately interlaced, the edges of the double-beaded bands notched and ornamented with small spirals. The bodies of the dragons are decorated with small round pellets; their heads are lizard-like, and each one shows a single fore-leg and hind-leg. There is a resemblance to the dragons at foot of the Joalf cross, Michael 105. A band of step-pattern, with the corners blunted so as to suggest a square-formed twist, separates the fust from the head, or cross proper.

The carving is from a sixteenth to a quarter of an inch in relief, getting gradually bolder and in stronger relief towards the foot.

B. This face is similarly ornamented. The lower limb of the cross, which is an inch and a half shorter than the upper, does not project beyond the circle, and none of the limbs expand to such an extent as on the other face. The cross is treated in the same manner, the bands double-beaded, terminating in diagonal interlaced rings. The circle connecting the limbs is decorated with step-pattern, the angles blunted. The fust also has four dragons, all except the lowest being head downwards, with single fore-legs and hind-legs, with top-knots and tails interlaced. The corners of the shaft are bordered with similar cable-mouldings. The relief is from an eighth to a quarter of an inch.

C. One edge is occupied by a single dragon, undulating in graceful curves, head downwards, forming a twist with a band, which throws out numerous tendrils, and is ornamented with scores and small spirals. The dragon is decorated with round pellets between plain borders; it has top-knot, but neither legs nor feet. The bands are double-beaded throughout, and decorated with notches and spiral ornaments at the sides. The detached and irregular character of the interlacing, the splitting of bands, and the numerous loops are essentially Scandinavian in character; but on each face every detail of the actual cross and circle is Celtic in type.

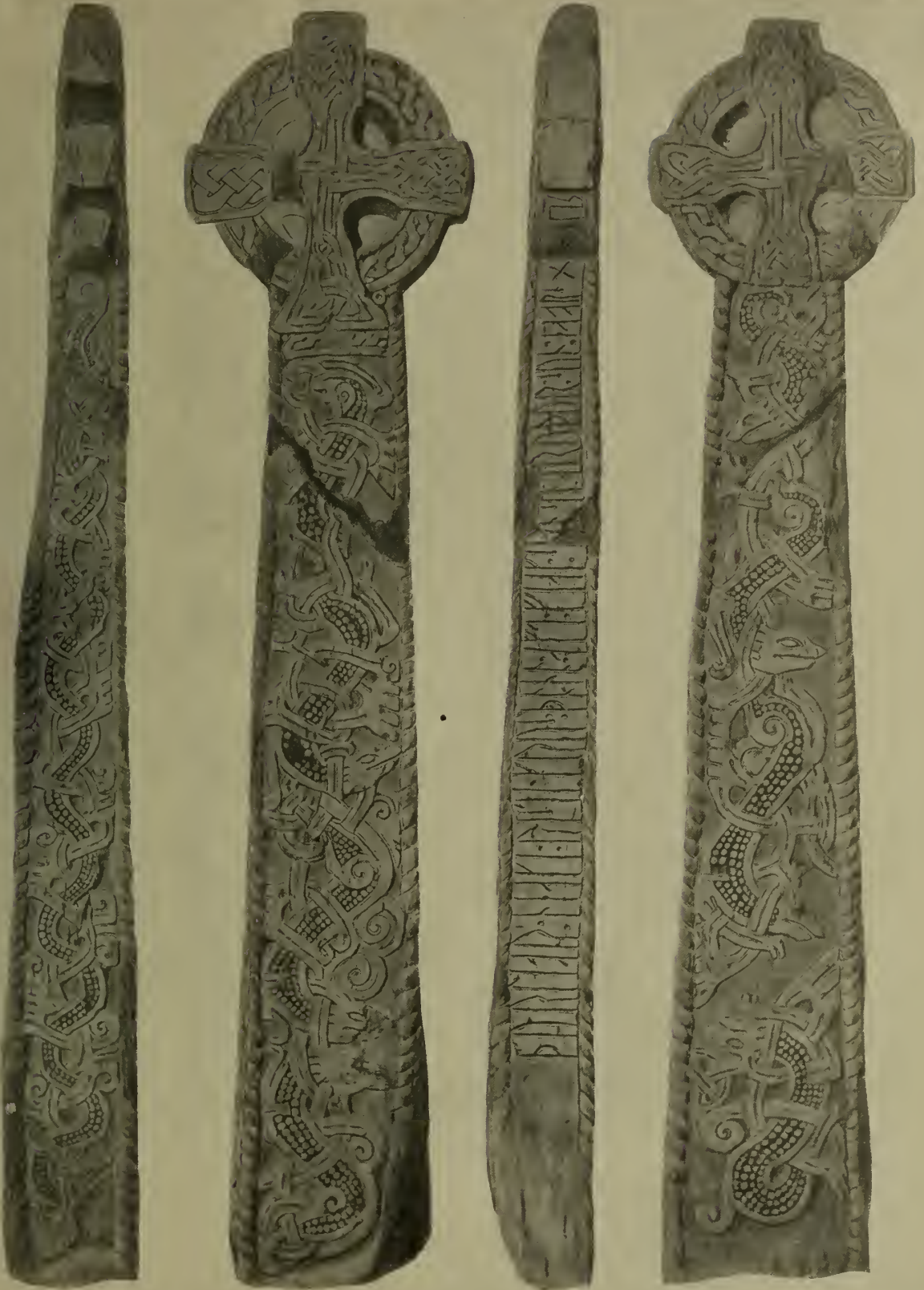
D. Both angles of the edges have the cable-borders. This one contains the inscription in well-cut runes, from three inches long at the bottom to about two inches at the top, the lines an eighth of an inch wide and a sixteenth of an inch deep. The reading is perfectly clear:—

ThURLIBR : NHAKI : RISTI : KRUS : ThONO : AFT : FIAK : S[UN] SIN :
 [B]RUTHUR : SUN : HABRS ×

THORLEIF HNAKKI ERECTED THIS CROSS TO THE MEMORY OF FIACC HIS SON.

Then, on the lower quarter of the circle the characters $\mathbb{H}\mathbb{A}\mathbb{N}\mathbb{L}$, which certainly stand for IHSUS, the first, fourth, and perhaps fifth letters being in runes, the others intended for Roman characters.

The first word is one of six forms met with in the Island (possibly seven, one being broken off at the U) of names compounded of the favourite Norse prefix Thor. Here, as in Ballaugh 77, we find the B "retained by tradition from Old Norse, where in this position it was pronounced as a spirant. Names in *-laibr*, *-labr*, correspond with Old German names in *-leib*. Elsewhere in Northern Runic Inscriptions we find these names with B:—OALIB, Torin No. 64 (Vestergothland), *i.e.*, *Olaib*, Acc.; doubtful AULAAB, or ULAB, Melhaug, Sole, Stavanger district; uncertain ALAIB, on a lost stone from Tanberg, Ringerike."



108C

108B

108D

108A

FIGURE SUBJECTS.

(108C, B, D, A) Thorleif's Cross, Braddan, Scale about $\frac{1}{4}$.

Munch, Cumming and Kneale give A as the fifth letter. I supposed at first that it was a worn A, but there is certainly no trace of a character-stroke, and I have no doubt it was intended for I.

Professor Bugge, from whom I have just quoted, points out that the next name would have been pronounced *Hnakki*, just as Old Danish inscriptions have R^HUULFR, pronounced *Hr^oulfr*; R^HAFNUKA, pronounced *Hrafnunga*. Hnakki signifies "the nape of the neck. It occurs as a surname in Torin No. 64 (Vestergothland)—IFTR OALIB NAKA, and in Old Norse as a proper name. The next name, FIAK, is the Irish *Fiacca*, or Fiacha. With the last one, H^ABR, Professor Bugge compares the German *Haber*, Buck, in *Habergeiss*. The final R in this word is merely scratched in, and appears to have been added subsequently. Vigfusson omits it, but though added after the inscription had been cut, it may have been done by the same hand, as I think the S of KRS on the Truian stone, Bride 92, also omitted by Vigfusson, may have been. The stung-rune in this inscription evidently stands for H, not E, yet the art characteristics and the whole appearance of the stone proclaim it to be late work. The shaft has been broken, and the letters in SUN SIN are damaged, but there can be no doubt about them.

The word cut on the lower edge of the circle, in a line with the inscription, has, I think, been added by a later hand. The U is undoubtedly a rune, the I might be considered either Runic or Roman, and the S is uncertain; but one at least is more Runic than Roman, while the H is certainly Roman. The carver of the inscription would have used the same characters as he employed below. However this may be, the word stands for IHSUS, Jesus.

109.—Braddan. Plate lviii.—Kinnebrook, 23. Cumming, 23a, b, c, d.

On the mound with the last in Braddan Churchyard is the broken shaft of a pillar cross, very similar to the last. At one time it was built into the Church tower, and Kinnebrook's etching was made while it was in that position, forming a lintel over a doorway leading from the tower into the roof of the nave. The *Illustrated London News*, 8th December, 1856, contains a short notice of it with a figure showing the dragon-faces. The writer states that "for upwards of seventy years it had been known to exist in the steeple, whence it was removed November 19th, 1856, under the superintendence of an English gentleman who had been travelling about in the Island." This, as we learn from Cumming,¹ was George Borrow, author of *The Bible in Spain* and of *Lavengro, Romany Rye, Wild Wales*, etc., in the autumn of 1855.

What now remains measures forty-eight inches by about eight to twelve inches wide, and from three to three and a half inches thick. The portion broken off would probably have been about thirty-six inches long. The fust tapers upwards more rapidly than in the last; at the surface of the ground it is twelve inches wide, reduced at a point twenty inches higher up to eight and a quarter; one face, having the upper part flaked off, measures half an inch less in length than the other.

A. On this face the lower half of the shaft has been ornamented by two well-carved figures of dragons head to head; in the lower one the body ends in a spiral. They are pelleted, and, as in the last, one can see that in order to form the pellets the dragon was

¹ *Runic Remains*, p. 30.

scored along its length by four incisions, leaving five lines of equal width in relief. The outer of these on each side is left plain to form a border, the others being, by transverse scores, formed into squares of which the corners have then been cut off, leaving some of the pellets octagonal rather than circular. In the lower dragon the rows of pellets are increased to five at the throat. A horizontal band below, decorated with step-pattern, finishes the design on this face. The flat borders of this face are scored with diagonal lines between raised bands, giving a flat cable appearance. The carving is from three-sixteenths to a quarter of an inch in relief.

B. This face shows a similar panel arrangement, bordered above and below by bands with step-pattern ornament. The sides have a plain fillet by way of border. The step-pattern has almost the appearance of an angular twist between raised flat borders. The device in the lower panel consists of two double triquetra knots, with ends terminated in spirals and notches. The lower one is double-beaded, the upper has a sort of flat cable-pattern, or pellets formed by diagonal lines between raised borders. Above is the lower part of another panel, showing remains of a plait-of-seven; the alternate pieces decorated with the same flat cable design. Cumming's figure shows a border above this panel, the plait terminating in spirals, with step-pattern as before. Doubtless there would have been yet another above this with further knotwork, above which would be the head consisting of a cross and circle as in the last.

The carving is three-sixteenths of an inch in relief. We have in the Museum at Castle Rushen a small fragment from Mr. Wallace's museum, Distington, which was dug up by Lieut. Charlton in his garden adjoining Braddan Churchyard. It measures only six and a half inches by one and three-quarter inches, and appears to have been flaked off the upper portion of the face of this cross. It shows remains of two crossed bands, pelleted, evidently part of a plait.

C. The edge has been ornamented by a plain step-pattern between raised flat borders.

D. The inscription runs up the other edge in clearly-cut runes from one and three-quarter inches to two and a quarter inches long, the lines an eighth of an inch wide by a sixteenth of an inch deep. What now remains reads:—

UTR : RISTI : KRUS : THONO : AFT : FRO[KA : FATHUR SIN : IN : THU. . .]
 ODD RAISED THIS CROSS TO THE MEMORY OF HIS FATHER, FRAKKI. BUT THOR . . .

The stems alone are visible of the letters given in brackets, with the character-strokes of A and the dot of the S.

The name UTR seems to occur also on the slab in Peel Cathedral, German 108—"to Asrith daughter of Odd," where the first two runes are clearly visible, and seem to have been followed by an S, making UTS in the gen. No characters have been lost, for the thin line below the first U is certainly intended just to mark the beginning of the inscription. In the word FROKA, the K, though injured, is unmistakable. The nasalized A suggests a former N, and Munch translates it by *Franconum*. Professor Bugge points out that it is "the same as Old Gothic *Franca*, Old High German *Francho*. Of the name *Frakki*, i.e. the Frank, there is no trace in Norse farm-names (see *Rygh N. S.* 1332). The form written FROKA shows that in Man this name would be pronounced with a nasal vowel." This name, says Vigfusson,



109b

109B

109C

109A

FIGURE SUBJECTS.

(109D, B, C, A) Odd's Cross, Braddan.



“occurs in Gold-Thoris Saga, and once in an Icelandic place name, Fracaness, both in countries where the settlement was much mixed with Celtic elements.”

Cumming, in whose time the stone might have been more perfect, continues:—“FATHUR : SIN : IN : THURBIAURN SUNR (N. N. girthi).” Kneale also gives this, and I cannot agree with Vigfusson, who stops at FROKA, and says that the remains of strokes in continuation of the existing inscription “seem to be almost aimless,” or “that they certainly were not what Cumming gives.” On the contrary they appear, as shown in my plate lviii., to fit in as the stems of the runes given by Cumming, except that after the R of Thurbjorn they are now entirely broken off. And, if Cumming and Kneale and Munch (who follows as far as THURBIAURN) were right, it is interesting as giving us the name of another of our Scandinavian sculptors, to whom we can certainly assign three of our later and more handsome monuments. The figure in the *Illustrated London News*, though manifestly incorrect, confirms Cumming in this respect.

110.—**Braddan.** Plate lix.—Cumming, 12.

A fragment now in Castle Rushen, from Mr. Wallace’s Museum, Distington, of which Cumming says:—“I believe it was taken from the wall at Kirk Michael.” Wallace’s label to it, however, gives “Braddan”; and Kinnebrook, who saw it in Wallace’s Museum before it was removed from Douglas, also says Braddan. The other fragment which was in the Wallace collection, 90, so closely resembles the work of Michael 89 that I feel sure it must have come from there, and that Cumming had confused the two. I, therefore, regard this one as belonging to Braddan. It measures fifteen and a half inches by nine inches wide, and three and a quarter inches thick. Each face shows the head of a cross of the usual form, but without surrounding circle.

A. The left arm has a design of two diagonal rings interlaced, decorated with notches, flourishes and pellets. The other is broken off, but probably had a similar design.

The inscription runs up the shaft of the cross, and is finished in the space to the left; the runes from two and three-quarter inches to three and a quarter inches long, the lines an eighth of an inch wide and deep. It reads as follows:—

. . . N ROSKITIL : ULTI : I : TRIKU : AIÞSOARA : SIIN

. . . BUT HROSS-KETILL BETRAYED IN A TRUCE HIS OWN OATH-FELLOW.

It is impossible now to say what this was preceded by; it is evidently the second clause of a sentence, and we may assume the first to have been in the customary form. The N, which has been regarded as a possibly broken H (✱) or R, is quite distinct. ROSKITIL lacks the initial H, just as RUMUN does in Michael 100.

Munch explains TRIKU as *tryggu*, the dat. sing. of a fem. word *trygg* (= goth. *triggwa*), which may be supposed from the plur. *tryggvar*, “a truce,” of the Old Norse Laws; and Professor Bugge approves of that explanation, which may be correct. But as the word is never met with in the sing., Dr. Brate suggests that TRIKU might by error stand for dat. plur. TRIKU[M], *tryggum*.

AIÞSOARA, says Stephen, has been pronounced with the half vowel w, in Runic inscriptions often written O; compare for example soerþ, in a Norse runic inscription from Ireland.

The oldest Icelandic MSS. have SUA, with U after S, in contrast to VAS, VESA, with V—*Eiðsuara*, rendered by Munch “*consacramentalem*,” by Vigfusson “oath-swearer, oath-bound companion, oath-fellow,” etc. The importance attached to truce-making is seen in the forms and ceremonies under the old Icelandic Constitution (*Origines Islandicæ*, i, pp. 313-319), the breach of it being punished by outlawry. In Nial’s Saga, we read of such a tragedy as is here referred to, Asgrim having slain his own sworn brother-in-arms Gowk, a deed of parricide, says Vigfusson, which no weregild could atone for (*Origines Islandicæ* ii. 633).

In the last word SIIN, the use of the two vowels is unusual.

B. The other face shows the usual Manx design of two bands crossing and interlacing with two others at right-angles. They terminate in curious interlaced rings with notches and flourishes; the bands are pelleted. In the space between the limbs is a device of two diagonal rings interlaced, the ends notched. Above are the remains of a narrow fillet. The carving is an eighth of an inch in relief; the cross stands out from a quarter to three-eighths of an inch.

RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS—NO ORNAMENT

III.—**Marown.** Plate lx.—There is a fragment from Marown in Castle Rushen, the first reference to which I find in Jenkinson’s *Guide to the Isle of Man* (1878), p. 37:—“At the Rhyne farm we were shown the ground where existed the Chapel and Graveyard. . . . We found lying loose on the wall in the stackyard a broken slab with Runic characters as legible as when first made, and, on having it sent to Mr. Kneale, of Douglas, he translated it.” We are greatly indebted to Mr. Jenkinson for having rescued this interesting slab from its perilous position, and for having afterwards handed it over to Governor Loch for preservation in our Insular museum. It measures twenty-one inches by ten inches, and three inches thick. As the inscription, which runs up the middle of one face, must have been at least twice as long when perfect, and there must have been some carving above, the original height may have been anything from about three feet to five feet.

It reads as follows, the runes about two inches long, the lines only about a sixteenth of an inch wide and deep:—

THURBIAURN : RISTI : KRUS : Tho . . .

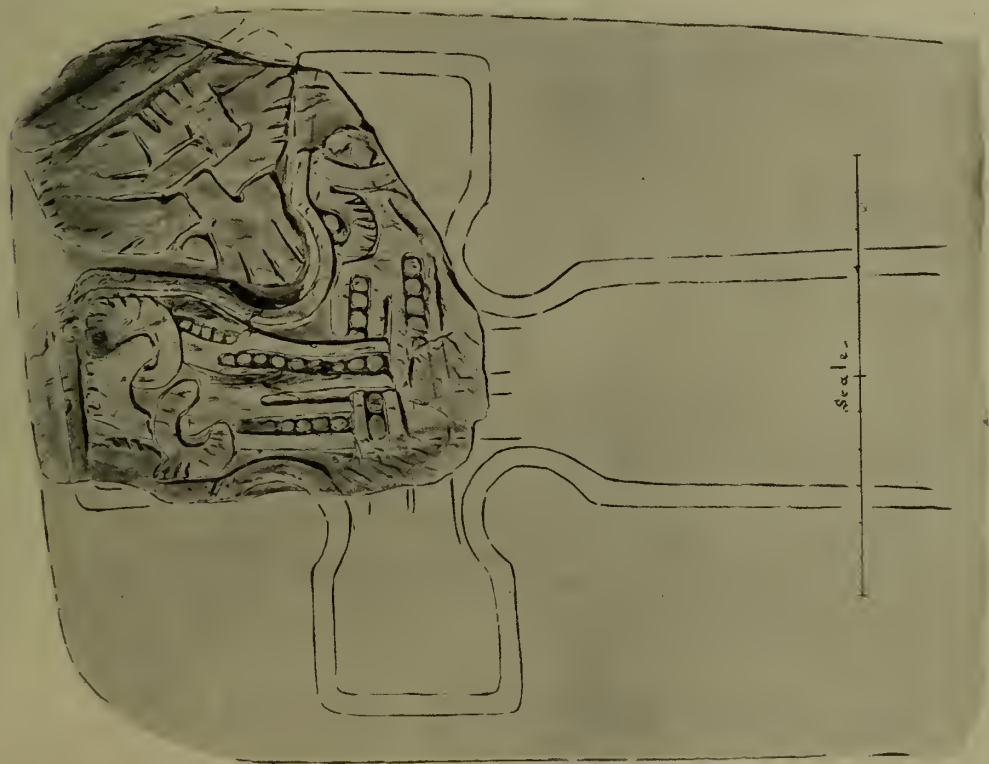
THORBJÖRN RAISED THIS CROSS [TO THE MEMORY OF A.B. HIS ETC.].

The stem-lines of the last two runes remain, and the second letter shows the lower stroke of the O. The character-strokes of the B in THURBIAURN are flaked, but can be traced. The use of the word KRUS renders it certain that a cross had been carved on the stone, and as there is no appearance of workmanship on the other face, which is not even surface-dressed, it must have been entirely above the inscription, which, however, might have been continued up the shaft as in our last; but this seems unlikely—at all events we have no other instance of an inscription so placed. What remains is well preserved, the marks of the graver’s tools being visible, and the stems of some of the runes prolonged by fine lines.



110B

(110A, B) The Roskivil Cross, Braddan.



110A



112

(111) Thorbjörn's Cross, from site of Keeil, Rhyne, Marown (from Photograph of the Stone by Mr. Patterson), Scale $\frac{1}{3}$ (nearly);
 (112) Edge of Asrith's Cross, Peel, German, Scale about $\frac{1}{4}$; (112A) Same (from Photograph of the Stone by Mr. Kee),
 Scale about $\frac{1}{7}$.

Below the inscription, directly under the I of the first word, is a well-formed double triangle in very fine lines.

In my Catalogue I described this stone as from Braddan, but the parish boundary makes an indent in Baldwin Valley so as to include the Rhyne farm in Marown. I have visited the spot, and made inquiries, and searched the hedges and walls for the missing portions, but without success.

112.—**German, Peel.** Plate lx.—Cumming, 27. *Manx Society*, vol. xv., 32. *Archæological Journal*, vol. iii., p. 58.

This stone was built into the east wall of the north transept of Peel Cathedral some thirty years ago, and though I applied more than once to have it brought to light, this was denied on the ground that it might injure the walls. However, in May, 1906, our present Governor, Lord Raglan—whose name will ever be associated with the excellent work done by him in the restoration of Castle Rushen to its condition as a mediæval fortress, and with his active interest in archæological research throughout the island—had this and the other cross-slabs removed from the cathedral walls and placed under cover in the temporary museum in the Castle grounds. In Cumming's time it was built into one of the arches in the nave where, he says, it appears first to have been noticed by the Rev. J. L. Petit, M.A.

The stone measures twenty-seven inches long by twelve and a half inches wide, and from three to three and a half inches thick. I was disappointed to find that both faces were gone. They were not deliberately chipped or flaked off, but appeared to have been peeled away by the weight of the wall, perhaps before it was removed from the arch in the nave. The inscription alone, being cut as usual on the edge, has been preserved, but is far from perfect. What remains reads:—

. . . US . THENSI . EFTER . ASRITHI . KUNU SINA . TUTUR UT[S]

[A.B. ERECTED] THIS CROSS TO THE MEMORY OF ASRITH HIS WIFE, DAUGHTER OF ODD.

This is followed by a blank space of three inches, and then by some cuts which might be remains of runes, but, if so, are too worn to be deciphered.

The first two runes are undoubtedly a part of the word KRUS, and from them I was led to believe that the stone had been decorated on one or both faces, as it now appears was the case. The fourth letter in the next word is certainly S, not E as read by Vigfusson. The next word begins with a stung rune, which in this inscription stands for E, and the second E of the word is as certain. The dots are drilled into the centre of the stem-lines. In the name ASRITHI, Vigfusson calls attention to the absence of the spurious T. In TUTUR the character-strokes of T are worn, but one can see they have been there, and the word is certain. The last word appears to have been followed by S, making the gen. UTS. In my plate lx. I add a figure from a photograph of the stone, which brings out the dot of the second E quite plainly; the other is out of focus.

113.—**Conchan.** Plates lxi., lxii.—Kinnebrook, 19. Cumming, 26a, b.

At Conchan we have a curious stone with rudely-drawn cross and a late inscription in runes. It lay for long in a garden in the village, where it was seen by Kinnebrook about 1841. In December, 1892, it was placed by Mr. F. Callow, the proprietor, in the church.

It measures forty-five inches by nineteen inches, and two inches thick. Each face bears an incised cross with circle. The inscription is cut irregularly over the surface of both faces, and it is difficult to make out the order of the words.

The runes are from one and a half to two and a half inches long, the lines only about a thirtieth of an inch wide and deep. The lines of the cross are a quarter of an inch wide, and of the small inner cross not more than about a fortieth of an inch.

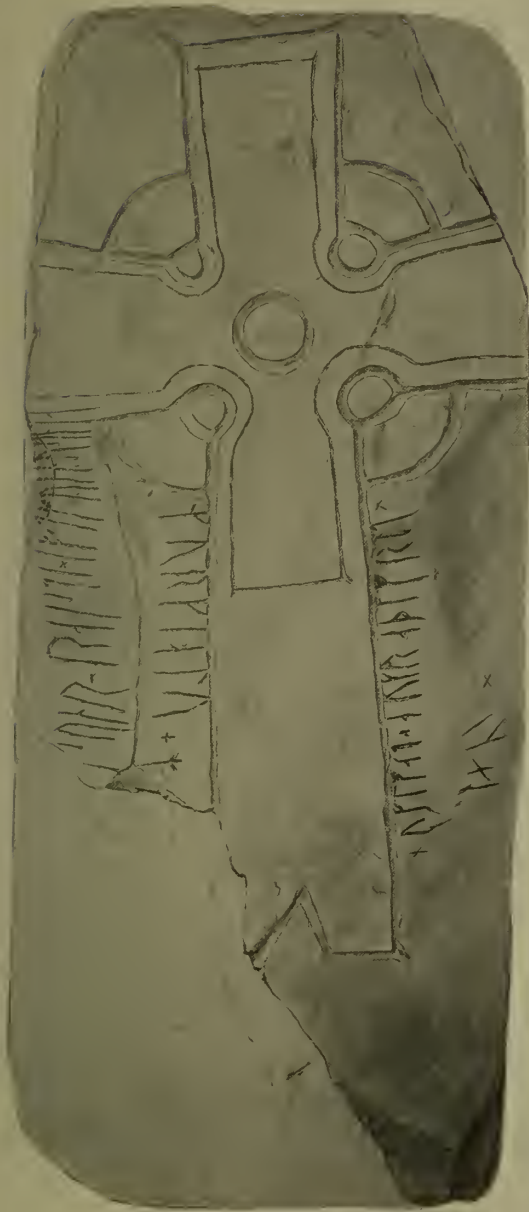
A. The equal-limbed cross on this face measures:—head, nine and three-quarter by three and three-quarter to four inches; shaft and left arm, about nine inches by three and a quarter to four inches; right arm, eight and a quarter inches by four to four and a half inches. The shafted or Latin cross which contains this, measures:—head, ten and three-quarter inches by five to five and three-quarter inches; arms, nine and a quarter inches by five and a quarter to six and a quarter inches, and the right one expands to six and a half inches. The bottom of the shaft is varied by a deep triangular indent. In the centre is an incised ring one and three-quarter inches diameter, otherwise there is no ornamentation of any kind.

The inscription on this face runs up the space to the left of the cross. A few runes are broken off from the beginning:—

. . .]ISUNR × RAISTI × IF[T K]UINU SINA MURKIALU × M . . . × UKIFAT ×
 AUKRATHIFRIT × . . . LAN[I] ×
 [A.B.] SON ERECTED [THIS CROSS] TO THE MEMORY OF HIS WIFE MURIEL . . .
 UKIFAT AND RATHFRID . . .—LAND (?).

The first line ends at the word SINA, of which the last rune is cut on the arm of the cross. Then, running down by the left side of the shaft, are two words, of which the second is worn away, only the initial M remaining; this is at a point seven and a quarter inches from the bottom of the Latin cross, leaving room for several runes to have followed. Up the other side of the shaft are three words, and at a distance of an inch and a quarter below appear to be the remains of four runes running in the same direction.

I take the first two lines to have formed one sentence. There is a broken rune stem at the beginning, which has been taken for remains of an R, but I agree with Dr. Brate that the line is too straight for the character-stroke of that letter, and it may more likely have been I. Of the words SUNR × RAISTI there can be no doubt. The third word also is clear as regards the first two characters. We then have a difficulty due to the way in which the surface here is worn. Vigfusson ventures only to remark “[3 letters] LU.” Munch and Cumming are certainly wrong in reading AFTIR SUN. Kneale read it KUINU. In my Catalogue I followed a reading suggested to me by Professor Stephens, to whom I had sent a photograph of the stone—AFTI UINIA. With respect to this he wrote me:—“UINIA acc. pl. of UINR, the O. Eng. WINE, whose nominative and accusative plural of course is UINAS. The usual Scandinavian nominative and acc. plural is in R, but in Icelandic, acc. pl. VINI, and on the Södertelje rune-stone (Södermanland, Sweden) it is UINA.” Professor Bugge, however, considers that UINIA SINA is not rightly a Norse form. Now it will be seen that if we take the letter following the T in IFT to be K, with the character-stroke flaked off (and this would account also for the rather large space between this rune and the next), and if we regard the two strokes following the UIN as U with the top broken



113A



113B

(113A, B) Thurith's Cross-slab, Conchan.

PLATE LXII.



(113AA) Thurith's Cross-slab, Conchan (from *Photograph of the Stone* by Mr. G. Patterson).

off, we not only come into agreement with Kneale, who saw it when it may have been rather more clear, but also with Vigfusson, who evidently took the preceding broken N for L. This is the reading of Dr. Brate, who examined the stone in 1905, and I have no doubt now that it is correct. There can be no mistake in the name MURKIALU, Myrgiol, Muriel, of which the first two runes are rather worn. Vigfusson was wrong in reading the sixth rune as \ddagger for O, which form also he thought he saw on the Sandulf stone, Andreas 103, having been in both instances misled by cracks in the stone. This word was followed by another of which only the initial M remains at a slightly lower level than the first word.

The next line I regard as a second sentence, beginning and ending with a small cross-mark, consisting of two names, and followed perhaps by a short line below. Of the first of these words the only possible doubt is as to the fourth rune, which might stand for either K or F, worn at the top. The remaining character-stroke starts from a point one-eighth of an inch lower than that of the first K; the space between this character-stroke and the stem-line is slightly flaked, and there is room for a second stroke above. I read it as a surname, Ucifat, with which compare "Ugfadhan," a name in *Four Masters*, A.D. 904. As to the following runes—AUKRATHIFRIT—I have no doubt as to the characters, but the fourth rune follows close on the third one, leaving rather wider space on the other side, and there Dr. Brate thinks he can trace a tiny cross-mark, but I am unable to do so. I do not think much stress should be laid on unevenness in the spaces, and, in fact, we find here precisely the same distance (three-quarters of an inch) between the stem of the A and the top of the U in AUK. The following runes are quite legible and certain till we come to the fifth, of which the character-stroke is more deeply cut and very slightly lower than that of the fourth rune in UKIFAT, like which the surface between the stroke and the stem is worn, so that there may have been another stroke above. I therefore take this to be F. The R following is clear; of the next a clear cut can be seen in a good light, as appears from the photograph of the stone reproduced in my plate lxii.; and of the T there can be no question. The word might, suggested Stephens, stand for RATFRID, RATHFRID, etc., the counsellor of peace—an adjectival epithet. Vigfusson reads:—"AUK RATHICR \times T . . . and of wise counsel (*auk rathigr*)." There seems to have been a line below this, but unfortunately the first part has been flaked away, and what remains is uncertain. It looks like LAN followed perhaps by I, or possibly a worn T, which would give a word or word-ending LANT, land.

Professor S. Bugge now offers an entirely new reading for this portion, including with it the words on the other face of the stone, which, however, I think we cannot reasonably do. He points out that no Norse name *Rathifrid* has been met with, and that, if used, it must have been written *Rathfrith*. After the word Murkialu, he suggests M[aðr], man, followed by UKIFAT \times AUK RATHIFRIT; and the marks below he reads [SU]A \times NI[UTI]. He continues, turning the stone round, and reading the words \times ISU KRIST on the upper limb of the cross as a connected sentence, rendering this portion of the inscription:—M[aðr] *uggi fátt ok ráði fritt[su]a nj[oti] kross Isu Krist*—"A man must fear little and do well, so can he have the benefit of the cross of Jesus Christ." He adds, "The beginning sounds almost like a sentence from *Havámál*, taken out of the pagan Life's reflection. To this is here joined a Christian addition—*uggi fatt, cf. ugðu fátt at ser (Fms., vii., 201); ráði fritt, cf. ráða stort, res magnas aggredi, ráða gott, res bonas efficere (Sveinbjörn Egilsson)*. On the gen.

form *Krist*, see Larson, *Ordfoerradet*, S. 190a. The form ISU appears with its Irish inflection."

B. On this face the minor equal-limbed cross measures:—head, eight and three-quarter inches by four and an eighth to four and a quarter inches; shaft, the same length by three and an eighth expanding to three and a quarter inches; left arm, eight and five-eighths by three and an eighth to three and a quarter inches; right arm, eight inches by three and three-eighths to three and a half inches. The larger, including cross, measures:—head, nine and a half inches by five and a half expanding to five and three-quarter inches; shaft, sixteen inches by five to five and three-quarter inches; left arm, nine inches by four and a half to four and three-quarter inches; right arm, eight and a half inches by five and three-quarter to six inches. The runes on this face are about a sixteenth of an inch wide and deep; the lines of the crosses as on the other face.

The word KRUS appears above the head; on the upper limb of the cross, and reading in the opposite direction (downwards), the words X ISU KRIST, taking the place of the figure of Christ on the cross. Running down the left side of the stone are the words: THURITH X RAIST X RUNER . . .—Thurith carved these runes.

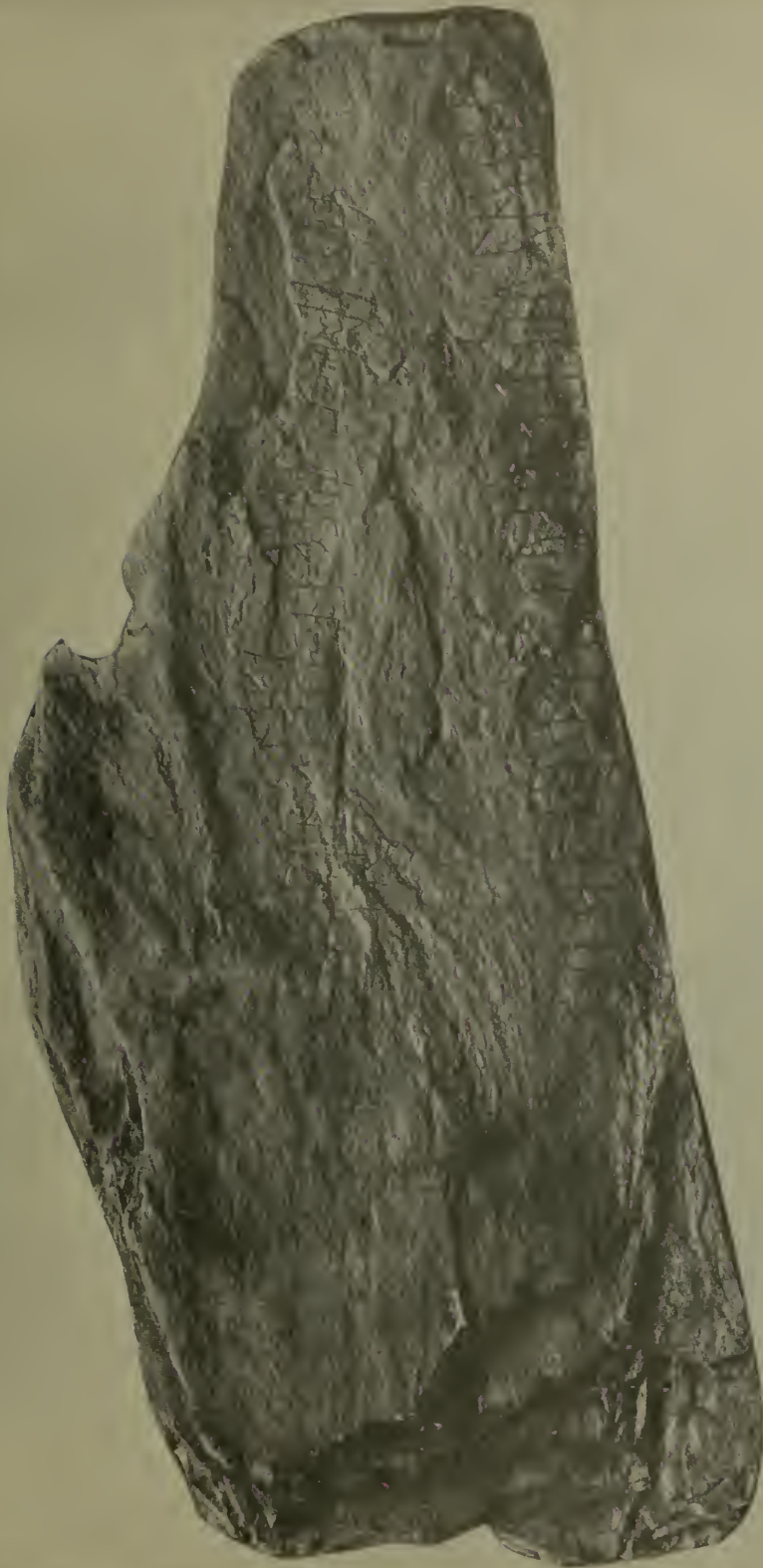
As an indication of late work, we note the very pointed form of the þ, and of the ð. The stung-rune stands for E. In the last word the spelling E for A is peculiar. As to the word Thurith, Professor Bugge does not agree that it is necessarily the name of a woman. He points out that the man's name þórðr, takes its rise from an older form þorrðr, and is written in Old English þured, þored. Just as Bárðr originates in Bárðr, and is written by the Irish, Barith. Thurith, therefore, he thinks, may express þor[r]eð[r], an older form of the man's name þorðr. As this inscription is a very difficult one to decipher, I have added (plate lxii.) a photograph direct from the stone to the figure from my drawing (plate lxi).

114.—Maughold. Plate lxiii.—I have recently placed in the cross-house at Kirk Maughold an interesting stone found by the Rev. S. N. Harrison, to whose careful observation we owe so much, especially with regard to the antiquities of Maughold. He found it in 1889 lying on the bank of a stream close to the wayside, at the upper end of Corna valley, where it was then in use as a resting place for pails and tubs by people coming for water. It must have been brought from Keeil Woirrey, the old chapel on the slope of Barrule, immediately above it.¹ This is a rough piece of the slate-stone of the district, unshaped and undressed, measuring twenty-seven inches by twelve inches, and two inches thick. The lower edge is worn very smooth by sheep rubbing against it, but the upper edge and the ends are rough and broken. There is no trace of a cross or of any figure or ornamentation of any kind, but along one face is an inscription in two lines, the runes, about one and three-quarter inches long, being rudely cut rather than carved, and only about a thirtieth of an inch wide and deep. The inscription reads:—

X KRISTH : MALAKI : OKBATHRIK : ATHANMAN :
 . . [I I]NAL : SAUTHAR : IUAN · BRIST · IKURNATHAL ·
 CHRIST, MALACHI AND PATRICK (AND) ADAMNAN! BUT OF ALL THE SHEEP IS JOHN
 (THE) PRIEST IN CORNADALE.

¹ *Yn Lioar Manninagh*, vol. i., part ii., pp. 140, 165.

PLATE LXIII.



(114) John Priest's Slab from Keeil Weirrey, Corna, Maughold. Scale about $\frac{1}{3}$.
(From Photograph of the Stone by Mr. Midwood.)

An invocation to Christ and to the great Irish saints then popular, by the shepherd of the flock, the Priest John. We can picture the good father on the mountain side, far from men and habitations, seated by the old Celtic burial place, Keeil Woirrey, Mary's Cell, cutting these runes with his knife on a rude broken slab, by no means the best he could have obtained, of which he did not even prepare the surface, for the runes of the last word in the first line have been cramped and forced out of line in order to avoid a crack and flake in the stone.

There are some indistinct strokes before the first word. Professor Stephens gives a short description of the stone from a photograph I sent to him (*O. N. R. Mon.*, iv., p. 97), and reads this part [HIR LIK]IA [I]N . . .—Here lie in Christ . . . But I think now they are but trial strokes and not meant to form a part of the inscription save for the last, which is meant to mark the beginning of it. The rest of the word-divisions are in the upper line, dots in pairs as usual, but very small, and in the lower, single dots; but its commencement as a new sentence is marked by a set of three dots.

We notice here a curious lisp in the use of the þ throughout for both T, D, and ð. The B-rune ǫ stands for P, and the þ for O, not nasalized A. The K in the first word, two and a half inches long, is larger than the other letters, evidently with the idea of treating it as a capital. MALAKI here must certainly refer to the famous Irish Saint whose death is noted in the *Manx Chronicle*—"Anno MCXL. (error for 1148). Obiit sanctus Malachias episcopus et legatus Ybernix." It enables us, therefore, to place this stone as dating from the latter half of the twelfth century—not the year 1000, as thought by Professor Stephens, but more likely 1200, or thereabouts. The transposition of the letters in the fifth word, NM for MN, is but a slip. Patrick, of course, is the Apostle of Ireland, and Adamnan, the well-known Saint, Abbot of Iona and biographer of St. Columba.

The next word presents a difficulty. It not only begins a new line, but a separate portion of the inscription. The runes for NAL are clear and distinct; they are preceded by two strokes, which might be taken for the lower part of U, but more likely, as now suggested to me by Dr. Brate, stand for I, I; UNAL, for Ua Neill, O'Neil, would not be the form taken by this name at the date of our inscription. As Dr. Brate says, the surface of the stone does not appear here to be worn away, and if the tops of these strokes were joined it would give a form of U different from the others in the inscription, which are rather pointed. There are certainly no character-strokes to either of them; we therefore must read IINAL, which may stand for IN AL, But (of) all, the AL being a contracted gen. pl. for *allra*. The next word, SAUTHAR, is clear, but the lower part of the stem-line of R rather worn. This R Dr. Brate reads for *er-is*. Of the next word, the lower character-stroke of B is injured, but a close examination shows it to be there. The last word is perfectly clear, and is interesting as giving a place-name still in use, except that we have dropped the "dale," Corna, of which the pronunciation Kurna may still sometimes be heard.

115.—Maughold. Plate lxiv.—A small stone not unlike the last was found during the extensive repairs to Maughold Church, and brought to me by the Vicar, Rev. R. D. Kermode, in December, 1900. It is a broken slab of the slaty stone of the district, thirteen inches square by two and a half inches thick. The face is smooth, but appears to have been worn so by natural agency, not made by hand; the back is the rough bedding of the rock.

Across the smooth face are three lines of inscriptions; the first an ordinary one, with Runes about one and a half inches long, the lines a thirtieth of an inch wide and deep, giving the name of the rune-cutter:—

[I]UAN × BRIST × RAISTI × THISIR × RUNUR

JOHN (THE) PRIEST CUT THESE RUNES.

The lower part of the first rune is worn away, leaving only a line three-eighths of an inch long, which must have been I. In the fourth word a slight mark crosses the middle of the stem-line of the second rune, so that at first I took this to be A, but upon Dr. Brate telling me that he made it I, with a mark caused by a flaw in the stone, I examined it again more carefully, and am satisfied that he was right. The reading otherwise is perfectly clear.

This is followed by the runic alphabet or futhork, in a line below, which proves the correctness of my suggestion made in the *Catalogue of Manx Crosses*, that the stung-rune † in the Manx inscriptions stands generally for H. Of the F only a small portion (a quarter of an inch) of the stem-line remains, and the tops of K and H are worn or flaked away; but there can be no mistaking them, and as regards the latter, the central dot is quite distinct. It will be observed that there are only fifteen characters—namely, FUTHORK HNIAS TBML; and that no more ever followed is made certain by a small cross as punctuation mark after the L. As in the last, the Th and R have very angular forms. The character-strokes are faint, and the word-divisions, as in Conchan 113, consist of cross-marks instead of the usual pairs of dots.

Below this we find the Ogam alphabet, which, however, has been broken away in the middle, namely, BLFSN, HDTCQ . . ., implying that the good priest John had some literary knowledge of Celtic as well as of the Scandinavian tongue. The characters are clearly and evenly cut, very well formed, and without any binds, differing in these respects from the Ogams on the Mal Lumkun cross, Michael 104. Dr. Brate thinks that the latter half of this alphabet may have been cut on another stone placed adjoining this in the wall of the church; but in that case the end of the stone would not have had its present broken appearance, and I think the whole alphabet had been cut upon it. Whether on one stone, since broken, or on two, I have no doubt that it was intended to have been built into the church wall, with the idea of instructing the congregation. In Scandinavia are several instances of Runic alphabets placed in church walls.

116.—**Bride.** Plate lxx.—In the porch of Bride Church, set over the doorway, is a rectangular slab of red sandstone, measuring twelve inches by fourteen inches, and about an inch and a half thick. The rudely-carved figures on it are evidently intended for Adam and Eve.

It had no doubt been built into the wall of the old church, from among the ruins of which it was transferred to the present building, and placed outside, over the door of the vestry. As it was suffering greatly from the exposure, I persuaded the Rector, the Rev. Canon Kissack, to let me remove it. A portion of it has crumbled away since Mr. G. Patterson was good enough to photograph and take a cast of it for me.

In the midst is the Tree of Knowledge, upright, without overhanging branches, and standing no higher than the figures. Two fruited branches stretch out symmetrically

PLATE LXIV.



(115) John the Priest's Stone, Kirk Maughold (*from Photograph of the Stone by Mr. Midwood*).
Scale between $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$.

on either side; doubtless the top, now broken off, was also crowned with fruit. Both figures are in profile. Eve, with long hair down her back, stands to the left, her right hand raised in the act of holding an apple to her mouth, the other stretched forth offering one to Adam, who is seen upon the right, his hair falling in curls upon his shoulders, putting out his right hand for the apple, while with the other he covers his nakedness. Not only is there an absence of the arched branches almost always found in Celtic representations of this subject—the cross-slab at Farnell, in Forfarshire, being perhaps the only exception—but, most curiously, the Serpent, generally so emphasized, is entirely absent. At Farnell¹ two large serpents are shown, one at each side; the Tree also, though shaped like that at Kirk Bride, is double the height of the figures. The carving is from a quarter of an inch to half an inch in relief, but it is now much weathered and worn.

This belongs to the cycle of subjects found on the paintings in the Catacombs and the Sculptured Sarcophagi (A.D. 50-450). It occurs on about twelve Irish crosses; in Scotland we only find it at Iona and Farnell. It appears on a stone at Dacre, in Cumberland, which the late Mr. Calverley assigned to the tenth century, Mr. Collingwood agreeing, considering it to be transitional between the earlier and the latest Anglian work.² In this, we find the Tree with three upright branches, not overhanging, bearing fruit in groups of three; the Serpent appears in front of Eve; the figures are draped.

"The Fall of Adam," says Mr. Romilly Allen,³ "is the first and most important of all the Old Testament types which have reference to the doctrines of Christianity. It was the Fall of Adam which rendered the Atonement necessary, and the symbolism is made clear in the verse 1 Cor. xv. 21—'For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.' . . . No scene is found so universally throughout the whole range of Christian Art from the earliest times down to the present day, and in none have the conventional features varied less." He goes on to describe the first dated example which is to be seen on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, at St. Peter's, in Rome, A.D. 359; and further on describes the special features which characterise the Celtic representations of the Temptation.

A different form is that where "Adam and Eve are receiving or presenting the apple with one hand and hiding their nakedness with the other. This is most common in Norman sculpture."⁴ Our Bride example differs in that Eve holds one hand with the apple to her mouth, but appears to be rather Norman than Celtic in character, belonging probably to the end of the twelfth century.

This, therefore, marks the transition in the Isle of Man from the Celtic Christian Art, and the Scandinavian continuation and development of it, to a different type of monument, a different school of art—that is to say, the Gothic or English, of which we have a good example in the thirteenth century coffin-lid at Rushen Abbey, and a very fine one in the fifteenth century pillar cross at Kirk Maughold, besides some small gable-crosses of which a few may still be found. Though few in number, these are so distinct in character and appearance that they cannot be included in the present monograph.

¹ Stuart, *Sculptured Stones*, vol. i., pl. lxxxvi. ; *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, fig. 232B, p. 220.

² *Early Crosses, etc.*, Carlisle, p. 114.

³ *Christian Symbolism*, p. 187.

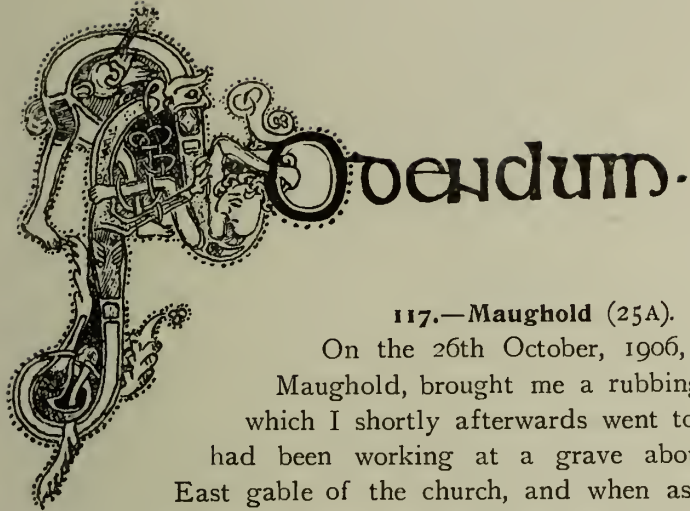
⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 190.



FIG. 58.—CROSS-HOUSE AT MAUGHOLD, OPENED BY H.E. LORD RAGLAN, LIEUT.-GOVERNOR, ETC.,
OCTOBER 11TH, 1906.



(116) Sandstone Slab, showing the Temptation of Adam, Bride (from a Photograph of the Stone by Mr. Patterson). Scale about $\frac{1}{2}$.



117.—Maughold (25A). Plate lxvi.

On the 26th October, 1906, the Rev. R. D. Kermode, Vicar of Maughold, brought me a rubbing of a stone just discovered by him, which I shortly afterwards went to examine. A man named Goldsmith had been working at a grave about twenty-two yards N.N.E. of the East gable of the church, and when asked by the Vicar if he had noticed any carved stones, he said that among the rubbish thrown out by him was one which seemed to have "some scratchings on it." This turned out to be a small unhewn slab of the local clay-slate, such as occurs on Maughold Head. It measures twenty-one and a half inches long by ten to eleven and a half inches wide, and from one and three-quarter inches to two inches thick; it is broken, and has been chipped round the edges by the builder.

One face shows the natural bedding of the rock, the other has borne on its undressed and irregular surface an incised cross patee within a circle which is about an inch and five-eighths wide, and appears to have been about eighteen to nineteen inches in outer diameter. The form of cross is that of the early Irish type, made by the junction (in this case the near approach) of four arcs of circles of approximately equal diameter. The limbs expand from one and a half to eight and a half inches, the lines being a twelfth of an inch wide, and from a twentieth to a twelfth of an inch deep.

Across the end of the lower limb are the remains of four characters in Anglian Runes, preceded by traces of others, the runes being from one and a half to two inches long. G, M, O, N, are perfectly clear and distinct. They do not seem to have been followed by any others, but a faint line in front of the G, and part of the stem-line with an indication of the upper character-stroke in front of that, may well have stood for A, K; and these, I suggest, would have been preceded by B, L, on a portion which is now broken off. Thus we have again the Anglo-Saxon name BLAKGMON, a slight variation of the spelling on Maughold 25, the only other stone yet found which bears Anglian runes. This name continued for centuries in our island, and (Mr. Quine informs me) is found on the Rent Roll for Conchan as BLAKMAN in 1511.

It is worth noting that the stone was found eleven yards south of the foundations of one of the old Keeils or Chapels in this extensive churchyard, but it was not *in situ*,

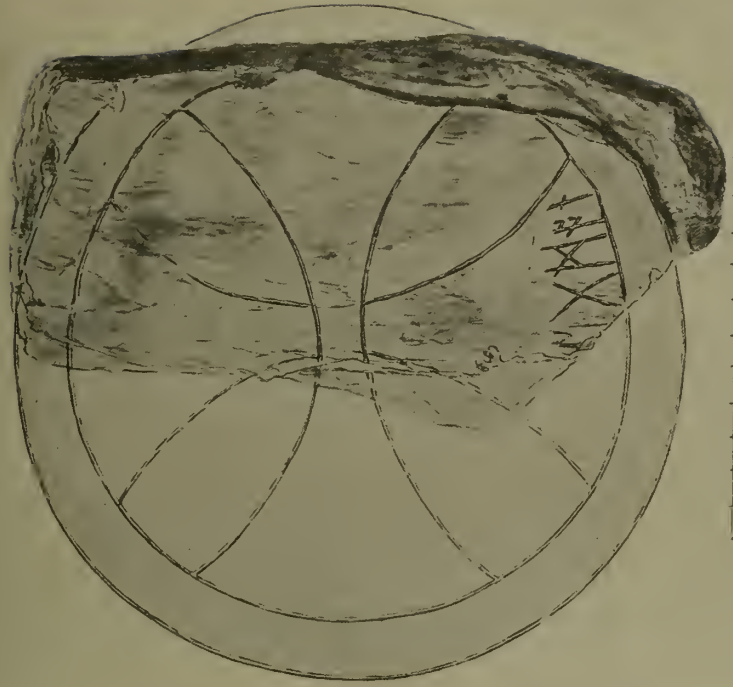
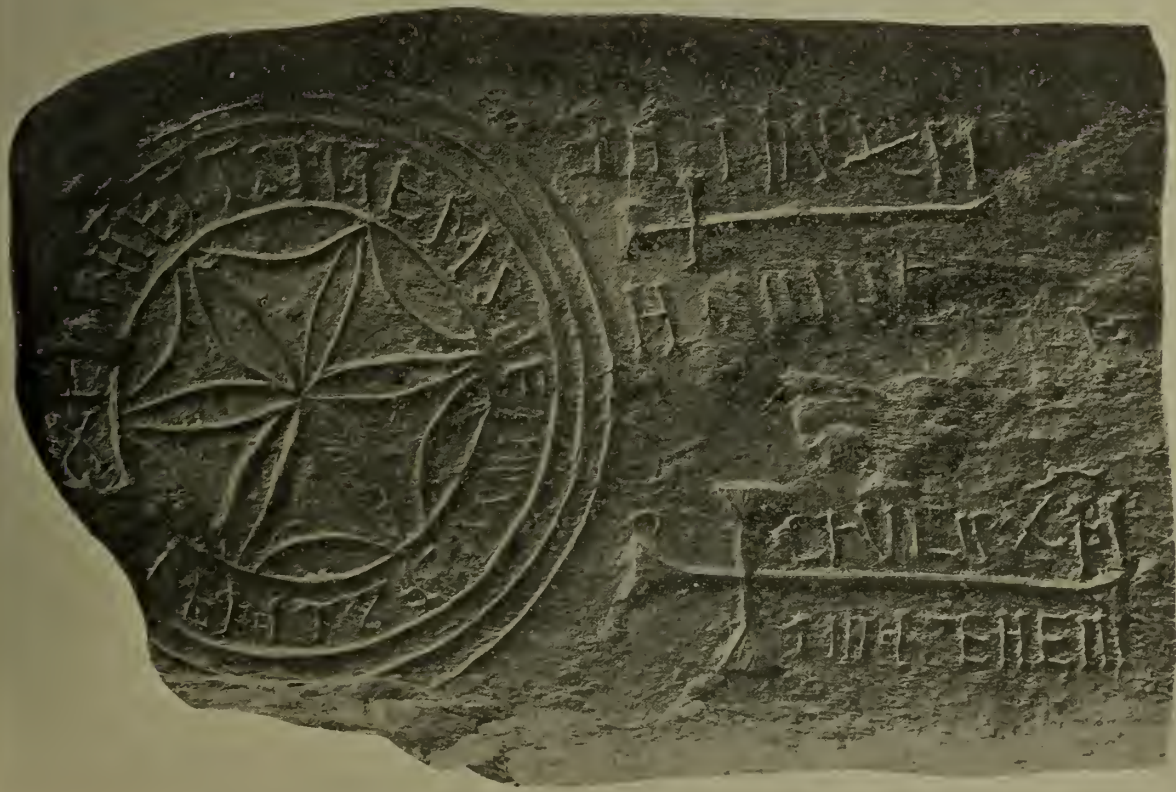
and it is impossible now to say whether the burial was in any way connected with that building, though it is likely to have been contemporary with its use. The other stone, 25, was found some distance away (also not *in situ*) forming the side of a grave near the north-west corner of the present church. It was undoubtedly intended for a headstone. Could these have formed part of one monument, one at the head, the other at the foot? The two must in some way be connected; they are of the same period, and besides bearing the same name, the resemblance between them is very strong. Otherwise we may suppose the present example to have been a trial, or unfinished owing to some break or imperfection of the stone.

The main interest lies in the fact that it is the second stone yet found in the Island bearing Anglian runes such as we find in the North of England on stones dating from the end of the seventh and beginning of the eighth century.

We have no historical evidence that the Angles came to the Isle of Man, but it is possible, and not unlikely, that some families may have done so from time to time, and these inscriptions imply not only that the deceased was an Anglo-Saxon, as shown by his name, but that the carver and, we may presume, some of the inhabitants of the district were so, as there would be no object in having a memorial inscription which could not be deciphered or understood by contemporary residents. The character of the monuments proves that they were Christian, while, taken together with the forms of the name and the use of runes instead of Roman letters and the Latin language, it suggests the latter half of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century as the probable period of erection. This makes the 117th stone belonging to this class of monuments now brought to light in our Island, and the thirty-eighth from the saintly district of Maughold.

I have to thank our Architect, Mr. A. Rigby, for permission to reproduce his sketch of the beautiful cross-house where these venerable relics are now gathered together.





27

(117 [25A]) New Fragment, Maughold, with Anglian Runes; (27) Inscribed Hexafoil Slab, Maughold (from Photograph of the Stone by Mr. Midwood).

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